

¡Alto a la Masacre!

¡Viva Zapata!

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UN PERIÓDICO ANARQUISTA REVOLUCIONARIO

SEGUNDO ANIVERSARIO  
¡ALTO A LA MASACRE!



**¡ZAPATA VIVE!** SUPLEMENTO ESPECIAL DEL EZLN  
AÑO 2, NUMERO 1 ENERO/FEBRERO 1995

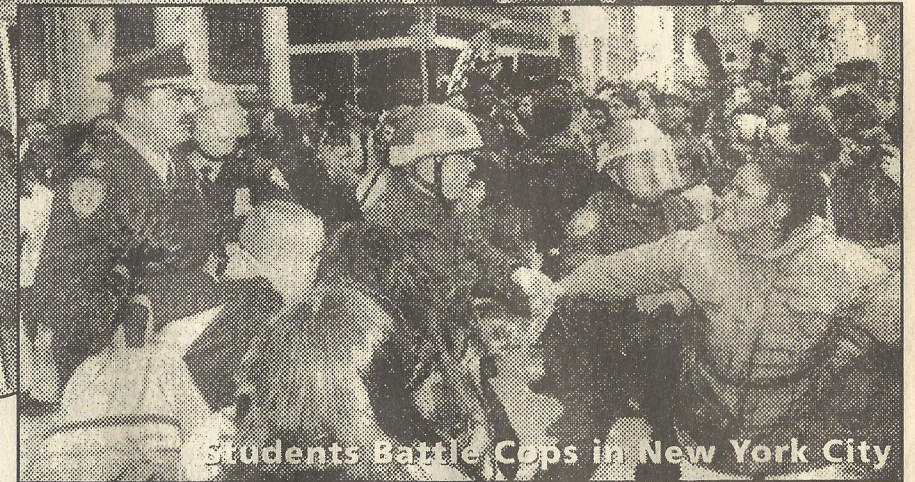
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A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST  
NEWSPAPER



VOLUME 6, NUMBER 3

MAY/JUNE 1995

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# New York Budget Cuts Spark Militant Mass Movement

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

On February 27, 8,000 students, mainly from the State University of New York (SUNY) and the City University of New York (CUNY), attended a rally organized by the New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG) at the New York state capitol in Albany against dramatic proposed cuts in the state budget for higher education. The NYPIRG rally was organized to coincide with a day of student lobbying of state legislators. But many of the students gathered in Albany were in no mood to beg politicians for what they consider a basic right. Growing impatient with an endless array of speakers emphasizing the importance of registering to vote and writing to our legislators, groups of students organized an impromptu march that managed to capture the whole crowd. After marching up and down a long mall the students started to march past the state capitol building which was guarded by no more than a dozen cops on horseback. Students waving the flag of the Dominican Republic were the first up the stairs of the capitol building. For a moment the crowd hesitated and then proceeded up the stairs to the doors of the capitol. The NYPIRG organizers panicked and pleaded with the crowd to return to the rally site. It was too late. Several hundred students poured into the lobby of the capitol building chanting, among other things, "Revolution! Revolution!" before the NYPIRG organizers, working with the cops, managed to secure the doors and prevent the rest of the students from getting in. The rest of the crowd

then marched several blocks to the administrative headquarters of SUNY where the police were better prepared. After several unsuccessful attempts the crowd managed to push through the police and get into the SUNY building, where they remained for about twenty minutes. The demonstration obtained only local Albany coverage in the capitalist media.

While the students were not prepared to transform these spontaneous actions into effective occupations, their insurgent spirit was an indicator that the movement against the budget cuts was going to be militant. This pattern was to repeat itself several times, with the rank and file of the student movement breaking through the boundaries established by their self-appointed leaders.

## OPENING MOVES

Several days later on March 1, 20,000 hospital workers organized by 1199 (eleven-ninety-nine), the hospital workers union, marched from the Empire State Building to Bellevue Hospital in opposition to proposed cuts in Medicaid and hospital funding. Over the next several weeks the movement began to turn up the heat. When recently-elected Governor George Pataki came to speak in a New York City hotel his path was blocked by AIDS activists and students. On March 15, speak-outs were organized by faculty at many CUNY schools. At Hunter, a CUNY college, a speak-out turned into a confrontation with the police after theater

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A scene from March 23.

# Québécois Left Fights Class War

BY NICK PHEBUS

January 25 saw one of the biggest student mobilizations in the history of Canada. More than 80,000 students coast to coast have shown, in a militant fashion, their opposition to the Canadian government's proposed reform of social programs. All in all 80 campuses were on strike across Canada, the Canadian Federation of Students (CFS) estimates that more than 70,000 people took to the streets that day and over 10,000 were on picket lines on different campuses. In Montréal alone, more than

12,000 people took to the streets in a giant demonstration. This was the culmination of a mobilization of almost all Canadian social forces against a government that wants to deepen the poverty of marginalized people.

The spark for this struggle was a series of propositions to "reform" the social "safety net" announced on Oct. 5, 1994, by the Liberal federal government. They want to make deep cuts in welfare, unemployment insurance and post-secondary education. These proposals were the culmination of a decade during which

both the Liberal Party, in power most of that time at the federal level, and the Tories, also in power during that time, have adopted a neoliberal approach. Slowly but surely, they have used propaganda to put into the minds of the masses the idea that the people benefiting from social programs are parasites and thieves. They also began to create a general climate of panic about the national debt and used this argument as an excuse to attack the poor, who supposedly cost a lot of money. They slowly dismantled those programs.

For example, since 1992 the amount paid by unemployment insurance has been reduced from 60 to 55 percent of the average paycheck. The number of people eligible has been cut by 102,000, and the duration of benefits has been reduced. The government has also attacked welfare recipients through a law requiring those who are able to work to accept any program the government offers, or have their checks cut. At the

same time, the government gave more and more money to the rich through subsidies and tax deductions, not to mention "under the table" rewards.

The response to these attacks was minimal, in part because the once-militant union movement has accepted the ideology that the workers and the boss have the same interests. Since the mid-1980s, union militancy has been falling. In Québec, for example, during the 1970s and 1980s, the average number of strikes each year was 243. But in 1992 there were only 159, and in 1994 only 133.

These years of setbacks have been the prelude to the general attack that we face now, and to the social movement that began a fight against the federal government in October, 1994. My focus in this article will be on Québec, so we should know something about the left organizations here, especially in Montréal.

## THE QUÉBEC STUDENT MOVEMENT

From 1975 to the early '90s, the student left was dominated by one militant orga-

(Continued to page 3)



Fifteen thousand took the streets in Montréal during the Jan. 25 general strike.

# People's Rebellion in Paterson, New Jersey

BY PAC

Paterson made national news from Wednesday, Feb. 22 until Sunday the 26th. The news began when a rookie narcotics cop, Ronald Cohen, shot 16-year-old Lawrence Meyers in the back of the head on the evening of Monday, Feb. 20. Meyers was under narcotics surveillance when he was approached. He ran, and Cohen, with his gun drawn, chased him to a fence. Eyewitnesses state that when Cohen could not get Meyers off the fence, he shot him in the back of the head. Meyers was unarmed.

When the story broke in Tuesday's paper, Meyers was listed in critical condition and on life support. Officials reported on Wednesday that Meyers had died. This sparked a march to City Hall, almost entirely composed of Black youth.

Several self-proclaimed Black leaders of the city spoke, asking all to remain calm and to wait for a police investigation. They were all booed. The masses were out to get their own justice.

Cops were initially held back, but eventually were let loose upon the crowd of 300-400. Street fighting followed, both cops and demonstrators were knocked to

the ground, and the rebellion began. Members of the angry crowd smashed store windows and threw bottles at the police and city hall. After several minutes, people left the City Hall/downtown area and police shut the streets to traffic.

During these events, members of the Paterson Anarchist Collective (PAC) distributed hundreds of "No Police State" leaflets and copies of *Plain Words/Copwatch* to a crowd in search of direction. Later that night, PAC members monitored police radio to discover that cops around the city were being attacked. Sniper fire, rocks, and bottles were aimed at police throughout the night. In the meantime, on Wednesday, when television news reported the uprising and that Meyers was "clinically" dead, the Lower East Side Class War Organizer (LESCWO) had responded immediately to the crisis situation and remained in Paterson through the entire rebellion. PAC began to organize literature to distribute the next day. Late Wednesday night an emergency one-page issue of *Copwatch* was produced along with a flier urging Paterson to rise up

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*Love and Rage* is the English-language newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, an organization made up of groups and individuals in Canada, Mexico and the US who share a set of common politics and who work on common political projects. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production Group is made up of volunteers and one full-time staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City, and publishes an internal discussion bulletin in New York City, in addition to supporting various actions and campaigns.

Major decisions and overall policies of the Federation are set by an annual conference, or between conferences by the Federation Council.

Ongoing debates and discussions within the Federation as well as timely information can be found in the monthly *Federation Bulletin*, produced in New York City.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join the Federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. Any individual who is in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation, who supports the projects of the Federation, is vouched for by two members of the Federation, and who pays the \$25 communications fee to cover the costs of receiving the Federation publications, may be a member of the Federation. The communications fee will be waived on request. Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you may participate in Federation projects. Please contact us.

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#### Boring Disclaimer

Yo, the stuff we print does not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation. We print lots of things for lots of reasons. Sometimes we print articles we don't agree with, because we believe that they are interesting or provocative. Got it!

#### Editorial Policy

We encourage you to submit material for publication. Shorter articles are more likely to be printed. 1750 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. Submissions may be edited. Please include a phone number and address or internet email address so the PG can consult you on editing. Articles not printed may be sent to our internal bulletin unless otherwise noted. All letters will be considered for publication unless there is a request that they not be published. Letters will not be edited.

#### About Our Politics

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is in the process of developing a statement of our common politics. A set of Working Papers encompassing the debate on the content of this statement is available for \$5 from the Federation Office. The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from:

*Love and Rage* is a bi-monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better-organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions, and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

[Viva Zapata!]

## Introduction

It has been an exciting two months of struggle since the last issue of *Love and Rage* came out. As we went to press with the last issue, the Paterson Rebellion erupted (see page 1), accompanied by the birth of a new student movement here in New York City and in Montréal (also see page 1). An article on Kent State (page 5) will help us keep a historical perspective on these new student movements. Because of all the activity that has been going on, it has been a struggle in and of itself to get you this issue of *Love and Rage* on time.

With this issue, we have moved our editorial to the back of the newspaper, with the letters page. This is to create more of an open forum around the editorial. We hope that in future issues there will be responses to past editorials running in the letters page opposite future editorials. This issue's editorial is on "The Role of Structure and Organization in a Revolutionary Movement" and was written by long-time *Love and Rage* member Matt Black.

This issue we continue our coverage of the Zapatista and anti-fascist struggles. Below this introduction, Harry Cleaver gives us an update on the situation in

Chiapas and a review of the book *Basta!*. We also feature interviews with Cecilia Rodríguez, the US representative of the EZLN, and Tacho and Moisés of the EZLN's Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee (pages 10 & 11). We include an intelligence report on the Catholic fascist group Human Life International (HLI) and an account of the resistance to HLI's recent "World Conference on Love, Life and the Family" in Montréal, along with other short anti-fascist notes (see pages 6 & 7).

Onward to World Social Revolution!  
**The Production Group**

# A Brutal Army and a Good Book:

## A Chiapas Update and Review of *Basta! Land and the Zapatista Rebellion*



Zapatista delegates to recent talks with the Mexican government in San Andrés Larrainzar.

[George Collier, *Basta! Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas*, Oakland: Food First, 1994. \$12.95. Distributed by Subterranean Company, Box 160, 265 South Fifth Street, Monroe, Oregon 97456. (800) 274-7826]

BY HARRY CLEAVER

Before the Zapatista uprising that began on Jan. 1, 1995, Chiapas was little known in the world except to its people, those who have profited from their exploitation, a few tourists, and a handful of anthropologists who have long studied those people and their culture. Today, there can be little doubt that the world knows Chiapas almost entirely through the words of Subcommander Marcos, the main voice of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), and the testimonies of journalists and human rights activists who have journeyed there to observe or stand between the people and a Mexican Army bent on wiping out the EZLN and intimidating its supporters into quiescence. Fortunately for the people of Chiapas, Marcos has proven to be an eloquent, indeed inspiring, spokesman and the journalists and activists have, for the most part, corroborated his words with graphic descriptions of the conditions of poverty which gave rise to the uprising and of the brutality of the military response. As a result, widespread protests, both national and international, through marches and a wide variety of creative actions, quickly forced the Mexican government to declare a cease-fire and to pull back its troops from the Zapatistas' most immediate zone of influence only weeks after the uprising began.

Over the last year, from the beginning of the cease-fire between the Mexican Army and the EZLN to the breaking of that cease-fire by the government on Feb. 9, 1995, the primary terrain of struggle became the battlefield of words and political discourse. Throughout that period the Zapatistas, and the peasant and indigenous communities they represent, won victory after victory over the corrupt apparatus of the PRI party-state. From the war of public words, in communiqués, letters, and interviews, through the negotiations in the Cathedral of San Cristóbal, and the brilliantly conceived National Democratic Convention held in the liberated jungle of Chiapas that drew over 6,000 participants from all over México, to the post-election formation of a Transitional State Government in Rebellion, the Zapatistas and their supporters made great progress in winning the hearts and

minds of the Mexican people and reorienting political discussion in México.

As the PRI began to tear itself apart internally through a series of public disagreements and assassinations, the marginal "reformism" of its leadership was totally eclipsed by discussions of how to radically transform the Mexican political and economic system. Struggling to survive these traumas, the Salinas regime bought time with disastrous economic policies that sucked in short-term, hot money to finance its desperate attempts to hang on to dwindling popular support through and after the national elections of August. The final collapse of those policies in December—a collapse which brought a dramatic depreciation of the peso, massive capital flight, and a jerry-rigged bailout package from Uncle Sam—threatened the continued existence of the new Zedillo regime. Reeling from losses on both the political and economic fronts, and seeking to placate foreign investors, Zedillo played two very risky cards: a unilateral breach of the Chiapas cease-fire with a new military offensive to wipe out a primary source of his political woes and a harsh austerity program to force the Mexican people to cough up the money necessary to pay back domestic and foreign speculators.

With a viciousness that went beyond its depredations a year earlier, the Mexican Army jackbooted into Zapatista territory, destroying as it advanced. Fleeing before the onslaught, some 20,000 peasants grabbed a few of their possessions and disappeared into the jungle. Ordered by their civilian leaders, the Zapatistas retreated with them, deeper and deeper into the Lacandona Jungle as the Army advanced.

As the result of a year of successful mobilization, the Mexican people and large numbers of kindred spirits around the world rose up, once more, in protest against this violation of the peace process. Where a hundred thousand had marched a year earlier, hundreds of thousands marched in protest. Three times in less than a week gigantic marches rumbled through the streets of Mexico City and converged on the Zócalo to denounce Zedillo's actions. Elsewhere, roads were blocked, consulates taken over, speeches pronounced, letters written, and Mexican government officials harassed. Once again, the Mexican government was forced to declare a halt to its offensive.

Unfortunately, unlike the previous time, the Mexican Army did not pull back. Indeed, there is some evidence that it continues its attack, plowing roads into the

jungle to allow its armored vehicles to advance, sending patrols surreptitiously deeper into the forest to seek out and harass peasants and Zapatistas. One thing is certain, the Army has not pulled back from Zapatista territory. It occupies much of it and has inflicted a reign of terror on those left behind. It has imposed martial law, repeatedly violated rights guaranteed under the Mexican Constitution, tortured innocents, ransacked homes, destroyed houses outright, torn up crops, shredded food supplies, poisoned water systems, and jailed both peasants and grassroots activists on trumped-up charges in an orgy of repression reminiscent of the Nazi drive into Russia in World War II or the American search and destroy missions during the war on Vietnam. Backed up by American military "observers," using American military equipment, and aided by the assassins of the Argentine and Guatemalan counterinsurgency forces, the Mexican government has brought the iron heel of repression down on the people of Chiapas who have sought democracy, justice, and dignity.

So overwhelming have been these events since February 9th that most of those who have become active in solidarity with the Zapatistas and the people of Chiapas have turned all of their energies to protest to stave off even worse horrors. And rightly so. The urgency of the situation demands just that commitment of energies. Yet, activism cannot be limited to marches and protests, demonstrations and sit-ins. The Mexican Army has not withdrawn, and despite the renewal of negotiations between the EZLN and the government that will continue on the May 12, the need for mobilization and the expansion of mobilization remains acute. No one can seriously believe that the Mexican government is willing to make any substantive concessions in the direction of democracy when it is defending its own autocratic rule. No one can seriously believe that the Mexican government is about to make costly concessions to the needs of the indigenous people of Chiapas in the midst of an economic crisis of its own making and after having promised its creditors to slash state expenditures.

Therefore, assuming that those already mobilized are already doing all they can, voting with their feet and voices and pens and bodies against military and economic repression, a major objective must be to expand the mobilization as widely as possible. To do that today, as in the past, it is necessary to convince people of the legitimacy of the struggle of the Zapatistas and of the grassroots movement in Chiapas, as well as of the illegitimacy and barbarism of the Mexican state. Thanks to the testimony of human rights and peace observers, the later has become increasingly easy to document. The former, however, takes more work: work to understand—well enough to be able to explain, in some detail—the conditions in Chiapas that gave rise to the rebellion and work to understand the position of the Zapatistas in relationship to those conditions. Reading the words of Marcos and his *compañeros* provides plenty of material for such understanding, but less for providing convincing explanations to initially neutral third parties one might like to galvanize into action. For there is always the question of bias, of whether the Zapatistas have misrepresented or distorted their account to support their own policies and politics.

It is therefore invaluable to have complementary information and analysis from experienced, even professional, observers who can verify or contradict the Zapatista story. Which brings me, at last you say?, to

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# Paterson Rebellion

(Continued from page 1)

and begin to build a movement. These were right on time as Thursday saw a continuation of Wednesday night's uprising.

Again, hundreds merged on City Hall, again the sell-out leadership spoke, and again the masses shouted them down. After a peaceful demonstration the crowd turned rebellious. People smashed more shop windows and looted several stores. During the struggles between the rebelling masses and police, the pigs ran down a 14-year-old boy, who was hospitalized and listed in stable condition. At a community meeting called by the NAACP that evening, the sell-out leadership was again shouted down. The youth took to the streets and street fighting broke out once more.

Friday saw more police control. PAC members released a second emergency issue of *Copwatch*, along with a PAC public service announcement suggesting the masses direct their anger toward the real enemy rather than store owners. About 200 students at Kennedy High School walked out of class trying to start a rally and march to City Hall, but were stopped by sheriff's officers on school grounds. Most of the day's events ended the same way. It has been reported that people are now awaiting the trial.

March 2 was Lawrence Meyers' funeral. Members of PAC, LESCWO, the Revolutionary Communist Party, and Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade demonstrated with close to a hundred other community residents, students, and friends

of Meyers. Two of Lawrence's brothers exploded out of the church in rage, but aside from that the funeral was relatively quiet.

On March 3 area residents responded to a call by Rev. Al Sharpton, and held a peaceful demonstration. We produced and distributed a third emergency issue of *Copwatch*. Some of the so-called leadership demanded we stop distributing them. Several of these so-called leaders had been urging the youth to attack PAC and LESCWO members. But the youth had recognized us from previous occasions and several stated "No, they could be with us." Ultimately, however, the lack of any revolutionary Black leadership let the pro-state Black leadership control the atmosphere. Members of Black Cops Against Police Brutality, who provided security in conjunction with the Paterson Police throughout the week, helped stop the demonstration at the police station instead of letting it continue on its planned route to City Hall. Unknown to most, dozens of other protesters were awaiting the march at City Hall. The march ended quietly, and it now seems as though the street demonstrations are going to be giving way to community meetings.

We hope the lack of militant Black leadership at the demonstrations will not be the order of the day for these meetings. We also hope that those who did not show up at the uprising will at least be there in the aftermath to help in trying to build something on the obvious potential Paterson has displayed. According to Ojore Lutalo, "Real people come to struggle, not run from it." Once again, PAC saw who was there for



Paterson pigs

them and who wasn't. Aid from New York and New Jersey Black and New Afrikan revolutionary groups was non-existent, and in the void sell-outs like Al Sharpton and DeLacey Davis, of Black Cops Against Police Brutality, took the stage. A fantastic window of opportunity to reach people normally not receptive to our ideas was missed.

During the demonstrations, one PAC member was taken aside and interrogated by two state police officials. With so little outside support or interest, we could have easily been taken out of the situation by the

state, and it would have been some time before anyone would have even known. This uprising showed some of our strengths, but more of our weaknesses. If we are to build on what we have, we are all going to need more help from one another in these times of crisis. We all will have to sacrifice quite a bit more, ourselves included, and show a lot more unity.

We want to thank Ojore Lutalo for his daily advice and support from behind the walls of Management Control Unit Trenton, NJ, during the rebellion.★

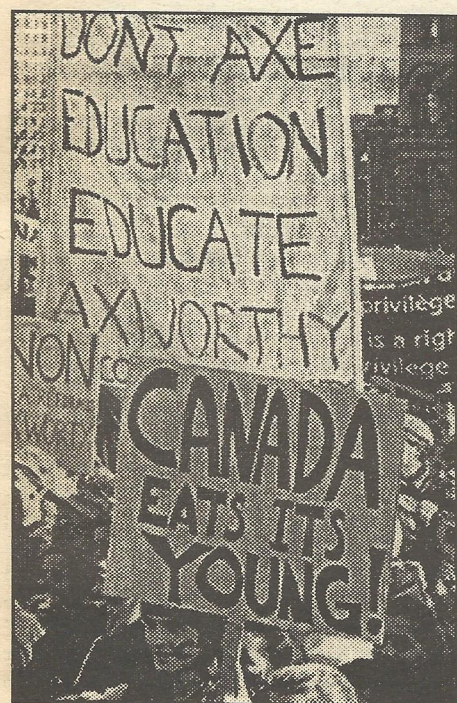
## The Fight Against Québec's Budget of the Damned

(Continued from page 1)

nization: "ANEEQ" (in English: Québec National Student Association). This organization collapsed after failing to prevent two big defeats in less than 5 years, one in 1989-90 when the government unfroze tuition fees, and the second in 1993 when the government "reformed" the college system for the worse. By 1994, the entire national student political spectrum was left to two conservative organizations: FECQ and FEUQ (one for colleges and the other for universities). In Québec, conservatives now control every university student union. Radical students were lone voices in the wilderness and it took them a long time to reorganize the left-wing student movement and put the Québec student movement back on its feet again.

### ANTI-POVERTY GROUPS AND THE AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY-BASED MOVEMENT

The 1960s and '70s witnessed a new form of organization in Québec: the popular groups. At first they were local political groups, direct-democracy-oriented groups, that tried to improve the quality of life for the people. Then these groups began to organize on specific topics (popular education, medical care, anti-poverty, housing, etc.) and to fight to be recognized by the government. They won government subsidies, and rights like free medical care were partially won because of the pressure of these groups. Now there are hundreds of these groups all over Québec, maybe even a thousand.



The anti-poverty groups are one type of popular organization. These groups try to organize the unemployed and to defend them against the government, they provide free legal aid and other services. They organized demonstrations against government policies which targeted the poor. The RCCQ (in English: Federation of Unemployed in Québec) is the most radical of these groups. In Montréal there are three groups within the RCCQ: Montréal-Centre, eastern and western. There is a fourth one still in formation.

These groups provided the impetus for the fightback. When the federal government put out their "social reform" plan in October it took no social movement by surprise. However, the government attack took place when the social movements were in a bad position; they were not used to allying, to working together. What was needed to win was a united front. In Montréal a coalition was set up between unions and popular groups. People from the RCCQ (mainly from Montréal-Centre) started to make contact and links with people from different organizations and social movements. We already had strong links with OCAP (Ontario Coalition Against Poverty, the same type of federation as the RCCQ). We started making links with students from the CFS (Canadian Federation of Students) and other Montréal students that we knew from having worked with them. We organized a meeting with them and started to set up a battle plan. We agreed that what was needed was a united general strike of students, workers and the poor, so we started building around that and pushing the idea everywhere. Of course different organizations had different agendas, so we decided to respect those agendas and to support each other. The RCCQ had already held the first of several planned actions, and we decided to focus a major effort on the next, a student action in November.

Simultaneously, the radical students in Montréal were organizing autonomously. They decided to support two national student actions called for Nov. 16 and 30.

November 16 was a demonstration on the Parliamentary Hill in Ottawa, Ontario, called by the university student organization. This was an action organized and supported by the student right (both Canadian and Québécois). However, the radical students chose to support it. Although everyone was thinking that this demonstration would be a failure because of the state of the student movement, over 12,000 students showed up. While 4,000 were from Ontario, more than 8,000 came from Québec, mainly Montréal. One of the most right-wing of the 4 universities in Montréal came with 20 buses. The Montréal-Centre group of

the RCCQ also came to that demo with its banner in support of the students. The demonstrators threw eggs and macaroni at the minister in charge of the reform. This had enough impact that opposition in the government were wearing the student buttons against the reform all day long in the parliament.

November 30 saw the first action entirely organized by the radical student coalition in Montréal. They decided to stage an occupation. First they went to the ministry in charge of the reform and occupied it for a time, then, when they were kicked out by the police, they moved to another federal office. After that the crowd was not satisfied so they decided to take the streets and march to the university nearby. Two hundred fifty students, mainly from three different Montréal colleges where radical students are active, participated in that action.

Following these actions, the Montréal-Centre group of the RCCQ together with the Montréal coalition against the social reform, planned several actions for December. On Dec. 2 we had a public mobilization and information assembly, and on Dec. 5 we set up a demonstration. About 150 people turned out, with a few dozen radical students in support and an anarchist banner. First a commando group invaded a Liberal MP's office and moved some furniture onto the street. Then the demonstration arrived and held a couple of speeches in front of the office saying that the MP was fired because of her anti-social behavior. The message was clear—you want to throw us in the street with your anti-poor politics, well the people will throw you in the street so you can feel what it is like! We also hung an effigy of the finance minister and burned it.

On Dec. 6, the Montréal coalition decided to demonstrate against the public consultations on the reform. (These meetings were being held in several cities to swing public opinion behind the cuts.) About 700 people attended. At the end of the demonstration, some anarchists got their hands on a microphone and screamed "Let's get in!" They got in with students and radicals, about 150 people, and broke everything, leaving a total disaster. A lot of the radical students came to the action and followed the crowd in. (After the Dec. 6 "clash" the RCCQ was expelled from the Montréal coalition and a campaign was started against the Montréal-Centre group.)

The radical students had forged a temporary coalition with national "left" student groups. In Québec the coalition was made of student unions all over the province, but the majority in Montréal. They began to print a national newspaper called *The Spark*. Around January they were able to print 40,000 copies and distribute them all over Québec. The goal of the newspaper was to counter the domi-



A scene from the occupation.

nant neoliberal ideology. It was the initiative of a few but soon became the radicals' organ. In the newspaper they talk of how it will be simple to have free education by taxing the rich, they also talk about how the anti-poor politics are fucked up and how the real people on welfare are the rich with all the money they get from the government. With that tool they started building around the Canadian student general strike already called for Jan. 25.

The right-wing Québec national student organization did not even talk about the Jan. 25 strike and called their own day of action. Together with the media and almost everyone else they predicted a terrible failure for the action on the 25th.

Despite these predictions, the day was a success. Three of the four universities in Québec came out, together with over 12,000 people. Montréal had the biggest demonstration on that day. The media simply lied and said there were only about 6,000 people—while showing a picture with at least 10,000 people in it! Even the police said there were about 15,000 people. Despite what the media claimed was failure, it was the biggest day of action in years in Canadian student history.

In February came a partial victory: the reform was postponed and the budget debate went on. After that a couple of less spectacular actions took place. In the meantime, the students went on building around their success and the RCCQ started to rebuild. Now (in April) the radical students are building their new movement and the Montréal-Centre group is working around the issue of women's rights and against an anti-abortion group coming to Montréal in late April. Although the alliance that was forged in the fall between radical students and radical anti-poverty militants is gone, as soon as the government attacks again this alliance will be brought back.

(Continued to page 16)



# Reflections on Kent State

BY MEG STARR

This May marks the 25th anniversary of the Kent State massacre, when four white students were killed and six others were wounded by the Ohio National Guard during an anti-war demonstration at Kent State University. During May 1970, over one hundred people were killed and wounded in US demonstrations—protesting the invasion of Cambodia and issues of domestic racism. In other murderous attacks, two students were killed at Jackson State (an all-Black college), also rallying against

the war. Nine African-Americans were killed in Augusta, Georgia, and 11 Chicano-Mexicano students were attacked with bayonets at the University of New Mexico.

Kent State has gained its legendary importance because it marked the first time that the white mass part of the student movement suffered deliberate fatalities at the hands of the white ruling class. It was preceded by years of murderous attacks on both the civil rights movement and the Black power movement.

Kent State University in Ohio was a large state school with a high percentage of working

class students. In 1965, the Kent State Committee to End the War was started. By 1968, Kent had a very militant, anti-imperialist chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). In the fall of 1968, Kent SDS joined the Black United Student Organization in occupying the administration building, calling for an end to police recruiting on campus. In the aftermath of that demonstration, when the administration threatened to press charges against the occupation organizers, all 500 of the university's Black students walked off campus and the charges were dropped.



National guardsmen fire tear gas at Kent State University students on May 4, 1970.

## CUNY

(Continued from page 1)

students in a mock funeral procession were followed by about 100 students into the street where they were attacked without warning by the police. Eight students were brutally arrested. On March 16, about 3,000 students organized by the CUNY University Student Senate (USS) marched from the Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) to the World Trade Center.

### STUDENT STRIKE ROCKS NEW YORK

On March 23, 30,000 students turned out for a demonstration organized by the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts with the explicit aim to "Shut the City Down." Only about 20,000 were able to get to the rally area around City Hall. The rest were prevented from getting to the rally by the police and clogged the streets surrounding the rally. The crowd included thousands of the 14,000 High School students who walked out of classes that day. When the students at City Hall attempted to get through the police barricades and into the street in order to march on Wall Street they were met with horses, mace and billy-clubs. Seventy-five students were arrested and many more were maced or otherwise injured. Reporters and photographers were also caught up in the police riot. Eventually the repeated attacks by the police broke down the determination of the crowd, which gradually dispersed. Several thousand students regrouped at BMCC nearby and several hundred organized a march to 1 Police Plaza, police headquarters, where the people arrested earlier were being held. Later that evening Police Commissioner Bratton attempted to speak at a previously scheduled event at Hunter College. Students disrupted the event by shouting Bratton down with accusations about police brutality at the demonstration. After one of the students was thrown out of the room a crowd of students gathered outside and chanted loudly throughout the event. As Bratton left he was pursued by an angry crowd of students chanting "Cops Off Campus! Run Bratton Run!"

The news blackout on the movement against the budget cuts was finally broken. The March 23 demonstration got front page coverage in every English and Spanish language daily in New York in addition to extensive national and international coverage.

### LIBERAL HUCKSTERS STIR

The March 23 demonstration seriously shook the power structure by announcing the existence of an autonomous working-class student movement outside the control of any of the traditional "progressive" forces of New York City politics. The CUNY Coalition refused to let any politicians speak from the stage. Ruth Messenger, the liberal Democratic Manhattan Borough President, was told to get off the stage. The response to the March 23 demonstration was immediate. The "left-wing" of the Democratic Party, in the form of the Rev. Al Sharpton and 1199 President (and vice-president of the New York State Democratic Party) Denis Rivera, called for a march from City Hall to Wall Street on April 4.

The April 4 demonstration had many lessons to offer the new student movement. Rivera and Sharpton promised the CUNY Coalition that they would be "equal partners" in organizing the demonstration. They were everything but. About 5,000 people, mainly students, turned out for the demonstration. 1199 did not mobilize its own membership in anything like the significant numbers they turned out for March 1. 1199 overrode the CUNY Coalition on several important issues from who would get to speak to how the marshals would respond to police provocations. At one point after several students had made uncompromisingly radical speeches, Denis Rivera took the microphone and threatened not to participate in the march if there were any more "provocative speeches." The crowd, including many 1199 members, booed Rivera. Al Sharpton had to intercede to save his and Rivera's political fortunes. In an expert piece of demagoguery, Sharpton played the firebrand, riling the crowd up with chants of "No Justice, No Peace," and then turned around and announced that any "provocateurs" would be "handed over to the police." Those who were familiar with Sharpton's past as an FBI informant didn't

doubt his willingness to collaborate with the cops.

April 4 cost the movement some momentum but it also taught some important lessons about alliances with "progressive" Democrats. After April 4 the momentum returned to the individual campuses. At SUNY Binghamton, Governor Pataki's car was stoned by students as he attempted to visit his daughter who was participating in an event on campus. On April 11 about 20 students at the City College of New York (CCNY) in Harlem initiated a hunger strike in a 24-hour access building on campus. That night CCNY president Yolanda Moses called in the police to arrest the hunger strikers and their supporters when they refused to vacate the building at 11 p.m. In 1969 CCNY was the site of an occupation that led to open admissions at CUNY. Since then there has been a tradition of not bringing the cops on campus. Moses' decision to use mass arrests against a hunger strike outraged not only other CUNY students but also community activists in Harlem and Washington Heights. Only minor charges were brought against the 47 arrestees, but they were held in police custody overnight and the hunger strikers were denied any fluids in a blatant effort to break their resolve. The next morning the hunger strikers returned to CCNY, and by early evening they had been joined by several hundred supporters from the community, from other CUNY schools, and from Columbia and other private schools. That evening a decision was made to avoid arrests and to leave the building when ordered to. The crowd then marched in the rain for several hours in a spirited demonstration through Harlem. Answering an offer of sanctuary from Columbia students the crowd attempted to gain access to Columbia but were blocked at the main gate by police. The crowd then rushed a smaller gate and about half the people got in before the cops were able to close the gates and arrest three students. After a brief occupation of the lobby of a library the crowd decided to disperse. The next evening Gov. Pataki ventured into New York City, attempting to speak on Staten Island. He was met by an angry crowd of transit workers, school bus dri-

In 1968, the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago had a profound effect on the SDS chapter at Kent State, just as they did around the country. Due to confused politics about participation in the electoral process, national SDS had vacillated about protesting at the convention. When Robert Kennedy—the "peace candidate"—was killed, SDS agreed to join the Yippies, the Poor People's Campaign, and the Black Stone Rangers in the streets of Chicago. The brutality of the Chicago Police Department and Mayor Daly helped more white students understand that US social and political problems were systemic and not just about one evil president or party.

By spring 1969, SDS chapters had mushroomed to 304 around the country. At Kent State, 100 members religiously attended SDS meetings. For the Spring '69 offensive, in coalition with the Black United Student Organization, SDS and the movement at Kent had formulated four demands. Two were focused on racism, one was to end the war in Southeast Asia, and one was to get ROTC and military recruiters off campus. On April 4, when a demonstration took the demands to Kent's administration building, the doors were locked and demonstrators scuffled with police. The university charged the students with "felony incitement to riot" and the police department charged them with attacking police officers. Eventually, a deal was brokered in which only four student leaders of SDS served time. They each served six months.

In June 1969, as the early gay and women's movements were gathering strength, the Stonewall Rebellion erupted in New York. As the movement grew, however, National SDS broke up into several competing factions. Half of the students joined the Progressive Labor Party, which argued that the movement should focus on a traditional Marxist analysis and concentrate on organizing the working class. They ignored the Black Panther Party and other oppressed nationalities within the US, who argued that the US is a "prison house" of colonized peoples, as well as an imperialist power abroad. The other half of former SDS students went into the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) faction. This group believed in a strategy of reaching out to white working class youth, trying to align

vers threatening to strike, and students who successfully shouted him down.

### BUDGET OF THE DAMNED

There are budget cuts and there are budget cuts. The state budget proposed by Gov. Pataki includes cuts so devastating in their impact that they could do nothing but spark massive resistance. The cuts include dramatic reductions in the budgets for AIDS, chemical dependency and other health programs, Medicaid and other forms of medical assistance, and particularly sharp cuts in higher education. The effects of the cuts on CUNY give a sense of the general character of this budget. Pataki's proposed budget calls for a 25%, or \$162 million, cut in funding for CUNY. To absorb these cuts he has proposed a \$1000 tuition increase. At the same time he is slashing financial aid. The effects of the cuts are already being felt. Staff and adjuncts have already been laid off at some schools, library hours have been reduced and early registration has been canceled. It is estimated that by the Fall 10% of CUNY students will be unable to return to school and 20% of classes will be cut as a result of this budget.

CUNY has traditionally been the escape from lives of poverty and misery for hundreds of thousands of poor and working-class New Yorkers. Until 1969, when open admissions was won CUNY was almost all white and tuition was free. By 1976 CUNY was predominantly Black, Latino and Asian, and for the first time tuition fees were charged. Since then there has been an almost unrelenting attack on CUNY. Each budget proposal is accompanied by a vicious campaign to demonize CUNY students as undeserving of higher education. Pataki's budget proposal is in effect an effort to destroy CUNY as a serious university offering a broad liberal education to working-class youth.

One of the astounding things about Pataki's budget, however, is that it is visiting similar cuts on the more white and middle class upstate SUNY schools. Because of inequalities in how CUNY and SUNY are funded, and because of the relatively more privileged position of SUNY students, SUNY will be able to absorb the cuts more easily than CUNY. But the cuts



them with the Black liberation movement and with other movements of oppressed and colonized peoples around the world. RYM believed in militant direct action.

By the Fall of 1969, RYM had further divided and one RYM sub-group formed the Weathermen. Student meetings with the Weathermen and student work with the Black Panthers helped persuade Weathermen and the other factions of RYM that they should organize off-campus and bring the revolutionary movement into other sectors of society. During September 1969, the Chicago Eight were on trial for the demonstrations at the Democratic Convention. Weathermen called for a new set of national actions in Chicago, later known as the Days of Rage, to take place at the beginning of the trial. Though only 500 people were involved, which was a big blow to Weather, the tactics used in Chicago were repeated by other groups in many other activities later that spring. The demonstrators fought the police with helmets on, in organized affinity groups. There was one day of women-only actions, which marked a new stage in Weather's development of a position on "liberation through participation" regarding women.

While none of the ex-SDS activists concentrated much attention on the campuses in the fall, a new and somewhat spontaneous series of organizers and groups continued the movement that SDS had helped to generate. At Kent State, ex-SDSers who were first-years and sophomores (among them a student named Allison Krause), organized for the Washington Demonstration Against the War in November. Over half-a-million people attended, making it the largest anti-war demonstration of the decade. Over four hundred people were arrested. Weathermen helped younger students organize for the actions.

On December 4, 1969, Mark Clark and Fred Hampton—two Black Panther organizers in their twenties—were murdered while they slept by the FBI and the Chicago police. At around that same time, part of the Weathermen went underground. Their decision was motivated by a desire to help form a "second front" in support of the Vietnamese and the Black Panther Party. They planned to use the power and freedom that comes with clandestinity to pursue armed propaganda actions and radical organizing. Black Liberation Army chapters

directed at SUNY and at Medicaid have created a broad working- and middle-class alliance against the cuts that has put the cuts in serious jeopardy and Pataki on the political defensive.

### ...OR DOES IT EXPLODE

For the majority of CUNY students, going to college is an enormous struggle. Few CUNY students can count on significant financial support from their parents. The vast majority of CUNY students hold down at least one job. Many have children or other family members to take care of. Many are the first in their families to ever attend college. For these students, for their families, and for their communities, a CUNY education represents their deepest hopes and aspirations. The proposed budget cuts are a direct assault on these dreams and aspirations. For every one of the 200,000 students in CUNY there are at least ten more people watching to see what will happen. Every CUNY student forced out of school by these budget cuts represents younger sisters and brothers or friends on the block who will give up hope and numb their despair with drugs. The budget cuts are quite simply a matter of life and death for the communities affected.

### THE NEW WORLD ORDER COMES HOME

One of the main battles within the anti-budget cut movement has been over where the budget cuts are coming from. Liberal groups ranging from NYPIRG to 1199 have emphasized the mean-spiritedness of the cuts and have focused their attacks on the Republican politicians in Albany. Over and over one hears from these quarters the refrain that the politicians don't know what the cuts will do to the people who will be affected by them and that the purpose of the movement is to let them know. In contrast to this, the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts took a somewhat more explicitly anti-capitalist position that the cuts are part of the general process of capitalist restructuring taking place around the world and that the real power behind the budget cuts is on Wall Street, not in Albany. But even in the CUNY Coalition there is a lack of clarity.

were already forming in many areas, as ex-Black Panthers responded to repression and to political escalation.

On April 29, 1970, Nixon announced his intention to invade Cambodia. Suddenly, the student movement, in its most spontaneous and mass form, erupted. Howie Emmer, one of the SDS/Weathermen leaders at Kent, later recalled that "it was as if everything SDS had been saying for six years—that the war wasn't just a mistake, that it was part of ongoing US imperialism—had finally clicked for people."

Emmer was one of the four students who had been jailed for the previous April's actions, and coincidentally he was released from jail later that same day. Along with the other three released student leaders, however, he was permanently banned from Kent State's campus.

The newly revitalized student movement continued to grow in numbers and militancy. On May 1, the Kent State ROTC building was burned to the ground, becoming one of 30 ROTC centers throughout the country to be burned down during the month of May 1970. There were two nights of organized rioting in the town, during which only banks and police cars were damaged. The atmosphere in Ohio was very tense, and the realities of state repression loomed. The governor called out the National Guard, placing them on the college campuses. He announced that the four student leaders just released from jail were communists and criminals, and that they were the ones behind all the trouble.

The typical FBI-devised rhetoric helped isolate and criminalize the entire student movement. The students on campus who had planned a peaceful May 4 demonstration had their permit denied. But intransigence was the tone of the times—from the Vietnamese, quietly tunneling their way to victory under American propped-up Saigon, to the Black Panthers, providing breakfast programs and self-defense patrols in their own neighborhoods. The ad-hoc Kent Demonstration Committee rallied without a permit. When warned by the police, they refused to move. The National Guard opened fire on the unarmed demonstrators, killing four.

Whether the Guard was trying to kill the demonstration's leaders or not isn't clear. With the exception of Allison Krause, who

had been a member of SDS, the other students who were killed had not been very actively involved. The names of Jeffrey Miller, Sandra Scheuer, and Bill Schroeder may not have been significant to the movement before May 4, 1970, but they live on today as symbols of the possibility of white resistance and the consequences of rebelling against a repressive state.

Rage at the Jackson, Kent State, and Augusta massacres intensified resistance during May. At Hunter College in New York City, a Third World Coalition blocked three doors of the college on May 12 to protest the college's lack of response to the deaths in Augusta. The Mississippi United Front for Self-Defense, a coalition of African-American student and anti-poverty groups, called for armed self-defense. From coast to coast, thousands of students blocked highways and fought the police. Howie Emmer remembered: "I was saddened by the deaths at Kent State, because I'd been there and it felt very close and personal. But I was heartened by the enormous response of the students around the country, who did not back down."

In the short run, the white movement did become more militant. However, organizers of that time also believe that Kent State eventually became an obstacle for the movement. Alan Berkman, a Weather activist from Columbia University, suggested that "the state drew a line in the sand, past which white supremacy wouldn't protect activists. After that spring, for many reasons—Kent State included, the movement spiraled down."

In the early 1970s, the white student movement—along with all the other important US-based movements—began to fall apart. US involvement in the war in Southeast Asia was "officially" over in 1973. For many white students, the war was their major issue, and on-going change of the society had played a secondary role. At the same time, Nixon poured a huge amount of money into local red squads and the FBI Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) to destroy the movements which tried to continue the struggle. The FBI viciously attacked and killed Black Power, American Indian Movement, Mexican, and Puerto Rican leaders. Brainwashing campaigns were directed at every weakness in the movement's ideological

unity. FBI agents exploited the racism which existed in the white student and white women's movements. They used the sexism that existed among all male radicals, as well as everyone's paranoia and sectarianism, to split groups and coalitions apart.

At the same time, "liberal" individuals and programs sponsored by the ruling class wooed the most conservative wing of the movement towards electoral politics and "enticing" reforms. This strategy, unsurprisingly, worked best among the white middle class sectors of the movement. A few white revolutionaries of the 1970s, who grew out of the Kent and student struggles, concentrated on developing new armed organizations. Though they were often arrogant, and misunderstood the importance of mass democratic work occurring simultaneously with revolutionary activity, they were able to build early underground groupings. By the 1980s, a small number of white radicals continued to experiment with more sophisticated clandestine formations. They were brutally repressed at an early stage of development, during a particularly non-revolutionary period of US history.

I think that—like the Zapatistas—we should reject the errors of our radical past: vanguardism, lack of democracy, and arrogance. At the same time, we must be able to unashamedly claim the experiences and ideologies that can inspire and inform our work today. Many of today's US political prisoners were revolutionary participants in the student movements of the 1960s. They are our primary resources in creating, remembering, and critiquing our own radical history that so many would prefer we forget. We must hold on to the history in which the murders of Allison Krause, Jeffrey Miller, Sandra Scheuer, and Bill Schroeder—along with the martyrs of Jackson State and Augusta, of the Panthers and all the others—are mourned and remembered on the streets. Only by remembering and honoring our collective histories, and those who helped to make them, will we stay true to our continued resistance.★

*Meg Starr is a member of Resistance in Brooklyn (R 'n B), a small, Brooklyn, NY-based affinity group. She was a member of the Free Puerto Rico Committee, and now also works with Women's Health Action Mobilization (WHAM!).*



March 23

Frequently, activists argue that the budget cuts in higher education will be bad for New York's economy because CUNY produces so many people who are trained to work in high-paying skilled professions, as if the ruling class has just made a big blunder in calculating the effects of the budget. In fact the budget cuts are perfectly rational from the point

of view of the rich. In the new global economy the high-paying jobs that supported the US's large middle class are being greatly reduced. At a time when the pool of high-paying jobs traditionally reserved for the white middle-class is shrinking, CUNY is producing thousands of Black, Latino and Asian competitors for those jobs. This undermines the ability of

the system to maintain a stable base of support in the white middle class. It is also producing raised expectations among an enormous layer of well-educated people of color that the system cannot deliver on. From the point of view of the rich, CUNY costs a lot of money and is

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# Human Life International: An International Catholic Fascist Organization

BY KARL SMALL

Over the past year it has become clear, to those who needed convincing, that there exist important, across-the-board links between the so-called "pro-life" movement and racist, fascist organizations. Across North America, anti-fascist groups are focusing attention on the battle for control of women's bodies, and pro-choice activists are taking a leading role in exposing and combating the right.

One international anti-choice organization which deserves scrutiny is Human Life International (HLI). This sexually obsessed Catholic organization caught the attention of Montréal leftists, despite the fact that "choice" is not nearly the battlefield in Québec that it is in the United States, when it was announced that they would be holding their "Fourteenth World Conference on Love, Life and the Family" here in late April.

Human Life International boasts "84 branches in 56 countries on five continents," though many branches do little more than distribute propaganda. HLI was involved in the campaigns which rendered abortion illegal in Ireland, Honduras, the Philippines, South Africa, Guatemala, Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Their propaganda is available in French, German, Spanish and other languages; many branches have their own newsletters tailored to their particular situations. All in all, HLI claims that its newsletters have a combined readership of 1.5 million. Yet it has no official membership, and less than 100 employees. HLI works mainly to bring together different

strands of what it calls the "pro-life/pro-family" movement around the world.

Abortion is just one part of HLI's agenda, which calls for nothing less than the imposition of right-wing Catholic values on the world. HLI opposes not only abortion but also contraception ("contraception always leads to abortion, and to increased abortion rates"), euthanasia, sex education, homosexuality, feminism, women working outside the home, and of course the Catholic left. HLI sees all these "evils" as being different facets of the same general decline in "Western Christian civilization." Members of HLI regularly refer to various "conspiracies" which they see as being responsible for the world's "ills."

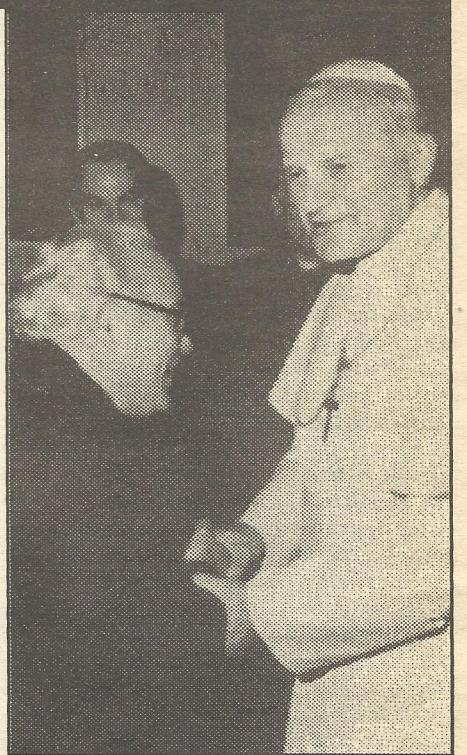
Not surprisingly, when the Christian right talks conspiracy, there's a few tried-and-true targets that they love to pick on. HLI's founder, Father Paul Marx, makes common cause with neo-nazis who blame Jews for what he calls the "abortion holocaust." In his words: "The same segment of the Jewish community that accuses the Pope of insensitivity to the Jewish Holocaust not only condones but has more or less led the greatest holocaust of all time, the war on unborn babies... Among the chief crusaders for abortion in England, too, were prominent Jews. And, I learned, in Buenos Aires, that leaders of Argentina's two-and-one-half million Jews were pressing for school sex education, which always includes contraception and (subtly) abortion." (Paul Marx, *Confessions of a Pro-Life Missionary*, HLI, pp. 268, 272-73)

Although HLI answers all accusations of racism with the statement that it is equally concerned with "Christian, Jewish, Moslem, etc. babies," it has never condemned Father Marx for these statements, and has in fact rushed to his defense on more than one occasion. After the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith Canada both publicly condemned Marx's anti-Semitism, HLI Canada organized a press conference where its right-wing Jewish allies not only defended him, but reiterated that everything he had said was true.

Nor has Marx limited himself to bashing Jews. For instance, he has stated that "Moslems are taking over Western Europe, if you are not a friend of Allah, you're an enemy...they will kill you to please Allah."

In an interview with the *Minneapolis Star* in the 1980s centering on his fear that "the white Western world is committing suicide," he explained his fears thus: "I guess we have 250,000 Vietnamese here already, and they are going to have large families; the Orientals always do. God knows how many Mexicans cross the border every night... And if we ever have to fight the Russians, I wonder if these people will be willing to stake their lives."

Marx is not the only racist in HLI. At the upcoming Montréal conference, Father Winfred Pietrik, a National Committee member of Christliche Mitte, a German splinter party which tries to put pressure on the ruling Christian Democrats on questions of abortion, will be speaking on "The Moslem Threat to the West." Listed as an "international advisor" in HLI publications is one Dr.



HLI founder Paul Marx and his buddy, the Pope.

Siegfried Ernst, a German neo-fascist and personal friend of neo-nazi leader Manfred Roeder. Ernst, an evangelical Lutheran from Germany, is the founder of European Doctors' Action. The EDA's membership includes one Father Wolfgang Borowsky, who has publicly stated that "Communism is mainly a creation of Jews," and who was a member of the Freedom for Rudolph Hess Committee (Hess was a nazi war criminal). Ernst remains within HLI, and Marx stated that he is "the greatest pro-lifer in Europe."

Jews and women are not the only people targeted by HLI's venom; queers, too, have

## Second Annual Anti-Fascist Day of Action in México

BY ANA L. HERNÁNDEZ  
TRANSLATED BY TODD PRANE

A second Mexican Anti-Fascist Day of Action was carried out in November, 1994, by the Anti-Fascist Working Group of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation. The first day of action took place in November, 1993, in the Tecolote Cultural Forum-UNAM (National Autonomous University of México) and was the beginning of a series of conferences and roundtables in which *compañeros* from México, France, and Belgium participated. The first day of action was to be followed by a "Rock Against Fascism" concert (which, for various reasons, did not happen), and an exposition of posters and photographs from the anti-fascist movement, among other events.

In 1994, in part due to the enormous interest in the event in '93, the conference and the "Rock Against Fascism" concert, as well as the artistic installation, opened the day of action on Nov. 4 in the University Chopo Museum. The event continued on Nov. 6 in the city of Cuernavaca in Morelos, at the invitation of the *Enterrando Prejuicios* [Burying Prejudices] zine. Within the event there was a sub-conference called the "First Conference for Your Rights," designed to spread information about the human rights of youths.

This allowed the event to reach a much wider and more diverse audience. The

event was carried out in the Plaza de Armas, where the art installation was put up with the help of entire families. The event was well-covered by the local press.

The intention of these events, worldwide, is to make Nov. 9 an "International Day of Anti-Fascism." November 9 marks one of the worst atrocities against the Jewish people in particular, and against humanity in general. This day is more widely known as the "Night of Broken Glass" (Kristallnacht), when the nazis attacked Jews in their homes and stores throughout Germany. It is also the night of the anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

For the past several years, this date has been a day of fascist demonstrations and violent, xenophobic attacks in Germany. Since 1985, and even more so since the fall of the Berlin Wall, neo-nazi groups have picked this day to attack immigrant hostels, especially those that house Turks, and to attack Jews and Blacks. These attacks have extended throughout Europe, the US, and Canada, making the day one of nazi/fascist celebration. Recently, it has been given a new meaning—it has become a day of anti-fascist action.

### WHAT ARE ANTI-FASCIST DAYS OF ACTION?

Recently, German anti-fascist groups, specifically the anarchist anti-fascists, have taken to the streets to confront the nazis and the complicity of the authorities in fascist violence. Due to these successful confrontations, the day has been reclaimed as a "Day of International Anti-Fascist Action."



The smashing of the van.

On Nov. 9 of last year, a number of anti-fascist actions took place in different cities in North America and Europe. Anti-Fascist groups in the US, Canada, and México coordinated an international day of anti-fascist action on this side of the ocean, for the first time. This year anti-fascist actions were carried out again. Participation in the discussions made the growing interest in anti-fascism among anti-authoritarians clear. The "Rock Against Fascism" concert included groups "La Chorchá" and "Inconciente Colectivo." The artistic installation of Francisco Valdez and Hugo Navarro, along with other artists, expressed the xenophobic

and racist politic that has manifested itself on both sides of the US-México border—the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), "la migrá," in the US against immigrants, mainly Latin Americans, and the Mexican Army, against Chiapanecos and immigrants from other parts of Latin America who have the misfortune to fall in the army's corrupt and murderous claws.

It is important for all of us who are interested in changing this world to have an analysis of the situation of intolerance that exists worldwide. We must also confront fascists locally in an organized, militant manner.★

## BACOF: Organizing Against Fascism in the Bay Area

The Bay Area Coalition Opposing Fascism (BACOF—pronounced "Back Off!") has formed in response to British neo-nazi organizer David Irving's recent appearance in Berkeley, the distribution of racist literature on local university campuses, the upsurge of violence against abortion clinics, and the increase in fascist activities in California since the passage of Proposition 187.

A system will be set up to monitor the activities of the fascist movements and

share this information. A method of outreach will be systematically employed to mobilize a massive, militant presence whenever the fascists attempt to show their faces. We aim to coordinate common strategies for physically defeating the fascists.

Join us in responding to the growing threat of fascist violence represented by the intensifying organizing efforts of the murderous new stormtroopers of right-wing terror.

Smash The Right!

BACOF Hotline: (415) 789-8165

## Stabbed Toronto Anti-Fascist Recovering

Last issue we reported that a Toronto anti-fascist was stabbed and critically wounded by a nazi. We are now happy to report that the wounded anti-fascist has been recovering. However, he faces charges arising out of the incident for his part in

the fight. The police are saying that "both sides are equally to blame." Those interested in receiving more information can write:

Toronto ARA  
PO Box 664, Stn. C  
Toronto, Ont. M6J 3S1



The group Inconciente Colectivo (Unconscious Collective) playing at Rock Against Fascism.



much to fear from this organization. Despite Catholicism's alleged "respect for life" and opposition to euthanasia, HLI conferences regularly feature the likes of Paul Cameron, a man who has proposed "elimination of the carrier" as a strategy to eradicate AIDS. Cameron, who is the main man behind the Family Research Institute in Virginia, has argued in favor of murder of HIV+ people only as a "last resort," his preferred means being quarantine. Yet AIDS is merely a way of getting at queers, as Cameron explains: "AIDS victims should be hidden away like lepers... People who do wrong should be isolated, separated. The number one public health threat in the world today is homosexuality, not AIDS. Either we destroy homosexuality, or we will die."

As far back as 1985 Cameron was hired as "AIDS policy adviser" by Republican Senator William Dannemeyer. A year later, Dannemeyer would be supporting Lyndon Larouche's ballot initiative in California to quarantine people living with HIV. With the present ascension of the Christian Right within the United States, Cameron stands ready to act as adviser on a much grander scale. Already, his pamphlets and book *The Gay Nineties* (which are all distributed by HLI around the world) have been used as resources by the Oregon Citizens Alliance and Colorado for Family Values—the two groups which spearheaded the famous first two referenda to abolish rights for queers in their respective states.

Cameron shares his belief in preventive violence with others in and around HLI. Another regular at HLI's events is Randall Terry, the founder of Operation Rescue (OR)

and United States Taxpayers Party activist. Terry is a Christian Reconstructionist, someone who believes in setting up a religious dictatorship in which the Bible would be the law of the land. By his own admission, this would mean the death penalty for witches, adulterers, "incorrigible youth," and, of course, queers and abortion providers. Among HLI's own members, Steven Prunder, the director of a chapter of HLI, wrote in *Life Advocate* in 1993 that "lethal force will be the only reasonable action for some, and those of us who stood by and did nothing will have the least right to cast stones." Although HLI's leaders routinely denounce the "lethal force" strategy, the group's president, Father Matthew Habiger, saw fit to address a January Conference of the American Coalition of Life Activists, a front group for "Defensive Action," the most important group in favor of "lethal force" in the United States.

Despite its associations with confirmed fascists, HLI is in no way at odds with official Catholic doctrine. The Pope has called Father Marx "the apostle of life," and the group's promotional materials include two pages full of one-line quotes from Bishops and Archbishops who supports HLI's work. At the upcoming Montréal conference, Cardinal Turcotte has agreed to allow the group to hold its opening mass in the Notre Dame Basilica, and presentations will be given by leaders from Catholics United for the Faith, Campagne Québec Vie, Campaign Life Coalition, *Catholic Insight* magazine, the Christian Film and Television Commission, as well as bishops and priests from around the world.

HLI is particularly close to Christendom College, a Catholic training center based in Front Royal, Virginia. This "learning institution" was founded in 1977 by former CIA employee Warren H. Carroll. Its board includes HLI's William Marshner and his wife Connaught Marshner. Other board members include General Vernon Walters (a former deputy director of the CIA) and Domino's Pizza owner Thomas S. Monaghan. The Domino's Foundation is a financial contributor to the college's activities, as well as to such Catholic right organizations as the Institute on Religious Life, Legatus (a support group for Catholic corporate and church executives), Feminists for Life, and Servant Ministries. This foundation receives most of its money directly from Monaghan's Domino's Pizza, but also receives a considerable amount (\$200,000 in 1992) from the US Agency for International Development. According to its own literature, HLI is presently trying to move from Maryland to Front Royal in order to be closer to Christendom College, which it describes as a vast "labor pool" for its activities.

Human Life International organizes "World Conferences on Love, Life and the Family" every year. They always feature a clinic blockade, and they serve mainly to set up local anti-choice organizations, or at the very least to invigorate already-existing groups. Besides their year's conferences, HLI's officials are constantly participating in right-wing gatherings, "networking" towards the day when we get to suffer a modern inquisition.

We had better pay attention to this organization. HLI has already announced that it



is going to hold seven other conferences before 1996, with the aim of having a branch in every American state and Canadian province by the end of the year. The conferences announced so far are:

16-18 June—Seattle, WA;  
8-10 Sept.—Kansas City, MO;  
29 Sept.-1 Oct.—Boston, MA;  
20-22 Oct.—Dallas, TX;  
10-12 Nov.—Birmingham, AL;  
1-3 Dec.—Lafayette, LA.

Those of you whom HLI is *not* visiting soon can still help to fight the religious right. A boycott/direct-action campaign against those corporations which fund the right-wing is urgently needed, some appropriate targets which come to mind being Domino's Pizza and Coors beer. Visiting a town at the same time as HLI, to help take part in the resistance, is a good idea, too.

In Montréal we have produced several stickers, posters, and factsheets relating to Human Life International. We have also amassed tons of information, and we have a few observations from how we've organized against this group. Any activists interested in getting copies of our materials should get in touch. Our address is:

Anti-HLI  
c/o Librairie Alternative  
Montréal, Québec  
Canada, H2X 2T3

[Karl would like to thank BACORR, Catholics for Free Choice, and Planned Parenthood International for their help in preparing this article.]

Notes are omitted to save space. A copy of this article with citations is available from Love and Rage upon request.

# Fascists Pelted in Montréal

BY MATT MISCREANT

Montréal anti-fascists began preparing their welcome for HLI as soon as they found out that their city would be the site of HLI's 14th annual World Conference on Love, Life and the Family. As a result of this preparedness, HLI ended up stating that they received their "worst reception ever" in Montréal.

The first action held against HLI took place on March 8, outside the Notre Dame Basilica church, an important Montréal tourist site and the place where HLI was to hold a mass to kick off the conference. Four hundred people picketed on the front steps of the church in an effort to get the Bishop to bar the fascists from having a mass there. However, the Bishop "didn't want to deny a group of Catholics a place to hold mass." After April 19, the Diocese wished it had decided otherwise.

On April 19, HLI held the opening mass for the conference. As HLIers left the mass, they were greeted by a jeering crowd of

5,000, containing a sizable anarchist black block. The conference-goers were forced to flee the scene at a near-jog as they met a hail of sticks, eggs, and bottles. Although many HLIers were hit, none were hospitalized.

The demonstration tried to follow HLI to the Radisson Hotel, where the conference was held and many of them were staying, but the police effectively slowed the demonstrators and HLI was safely inside the hotel by the time the demonstration arrived. By now the crowd was more pissed at the cops than at the less-reachable fascists inside the hotel.

After some undercover cops in the crowd tried to arrest someone all hell broke loose. A black blocker ran behind the cops and hit one on the head with a stick, facilitating the release of the arrestee. As the black blocker ran back into the crowd, s/he was intercepted by undercover cops, and the degree to which the crowd, including the security team, had been infiltrated by the pigs became apparent. The crowd quickly

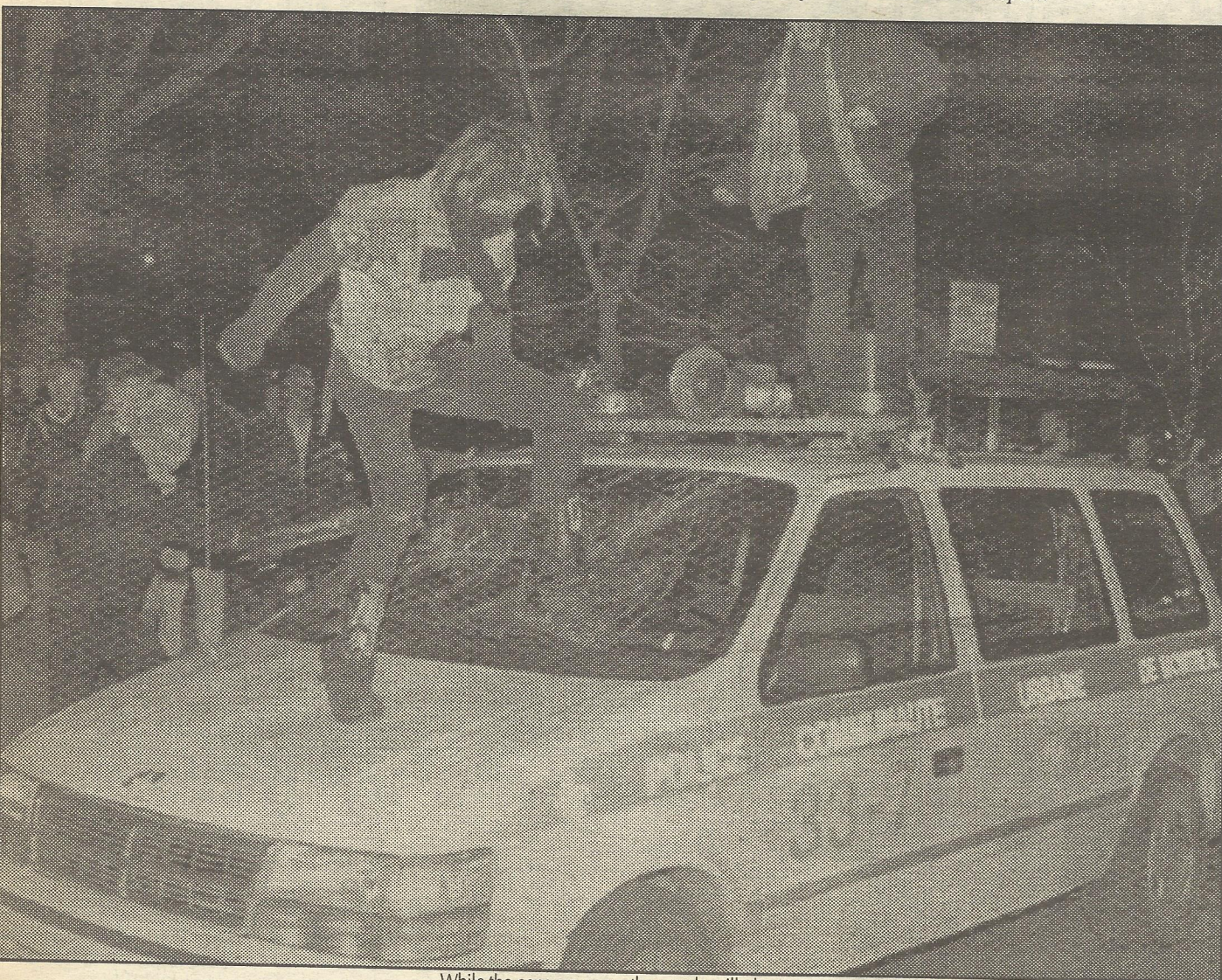
responded and unarrested the black blocker. A police van was smashed up once the cops were chased off by the crowd.

Following this, the excitement died down as the cops regrouped. Confrontations between demonstrators and police simmered on for a couple more hours as the demonstration gradually dispersed. Over the next few days, significant, if less dramatic, resistance was shown to HLI by the Montréal community.

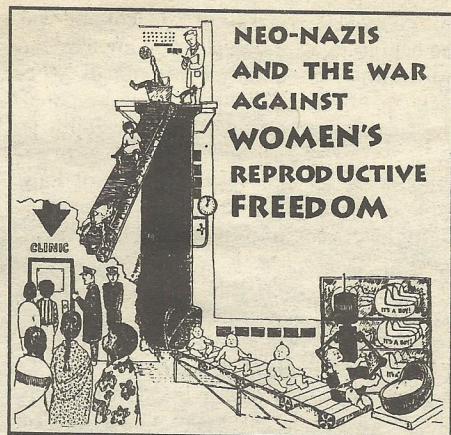
Nine people were arrested on April 19 and are facing minor charges. Each is expected to receive an approximately \$100 fine. Send financial contributions to aid the HLI 9 to:

Démanarchie  
C.P. 32100  
Montréal, Québec  
H2L 4Y5

Thanks to members of Démanarchie and Librairie Alternative for the information contained in this report.



While the cops are away, the people will play.



**N**eo-Nazis and the War Against Women's Reproductive Freedom is the name of a new 52-page booklet produced by Anti-Racist Action, the Jewish Feminist Anti-Fascist League and Arm The Spirit, three radical Toronto groups involved in different aspects of the anti-fascist struggle.

This booklet includes brief descriptions of reproductive unfreedom under the Third Reich, of various anti-choice groups with links to the far-right (Operation Rescue, Rescue America, Human Life International, Advocates for Life Ministries, Missionaries to the Preborn, Campaign Life Coalition, REAL Women, the Heritage Front, and the Northern Foundation); an excerpt from Tom Burghardt's "Low Intensity Warfare" booklet; an article by former Aryan Nations organizer Floyd Cochra; an "interview" with the Army of God; an article on abortion from a disabled women's perspective; Kristin Andrew's article on HLI; and an excerpt from "Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust." The booklet brings a lot of things together nicely, and as such is a good resource document. It gives a complete but not incredibly in-depth overview of the relationship between the neo-nazi movement and the anti-choice movement and is available for \$2 from:

Anti-Racist Action  
PO Box 664, Stn. C  
Toronto, Ont.  
M6J 3S1



# April 9 Demonstration in DC

BY CAROLYN

Over 100,000 women gathered on April 9 in Washington, DC for a Rally For Women's Lives sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW). Women spoke out against spousal abuse, queer-bashing, and the government's contract against women. Speakers included relatives of the women assassinated in Boston, Mass.

Across the Capitol Mall tens of thousands of t-shirts hanging from clotheslines said more than any speaker could. The

Clothesline Project starkly portrayed the violence of America in our homes, in our classrooms, our workplaces: the brutality of patriarchy was writ large for all to see. Each shirt demanded we remember a woman or child who had been abused or killed.

Walking among the women that day, there was a restlessness in the air. Something more than the rally could hold. You could hear it in the defiance in people's voices. This anger and desire for something more, not another rally, is going to move us toward a free society.

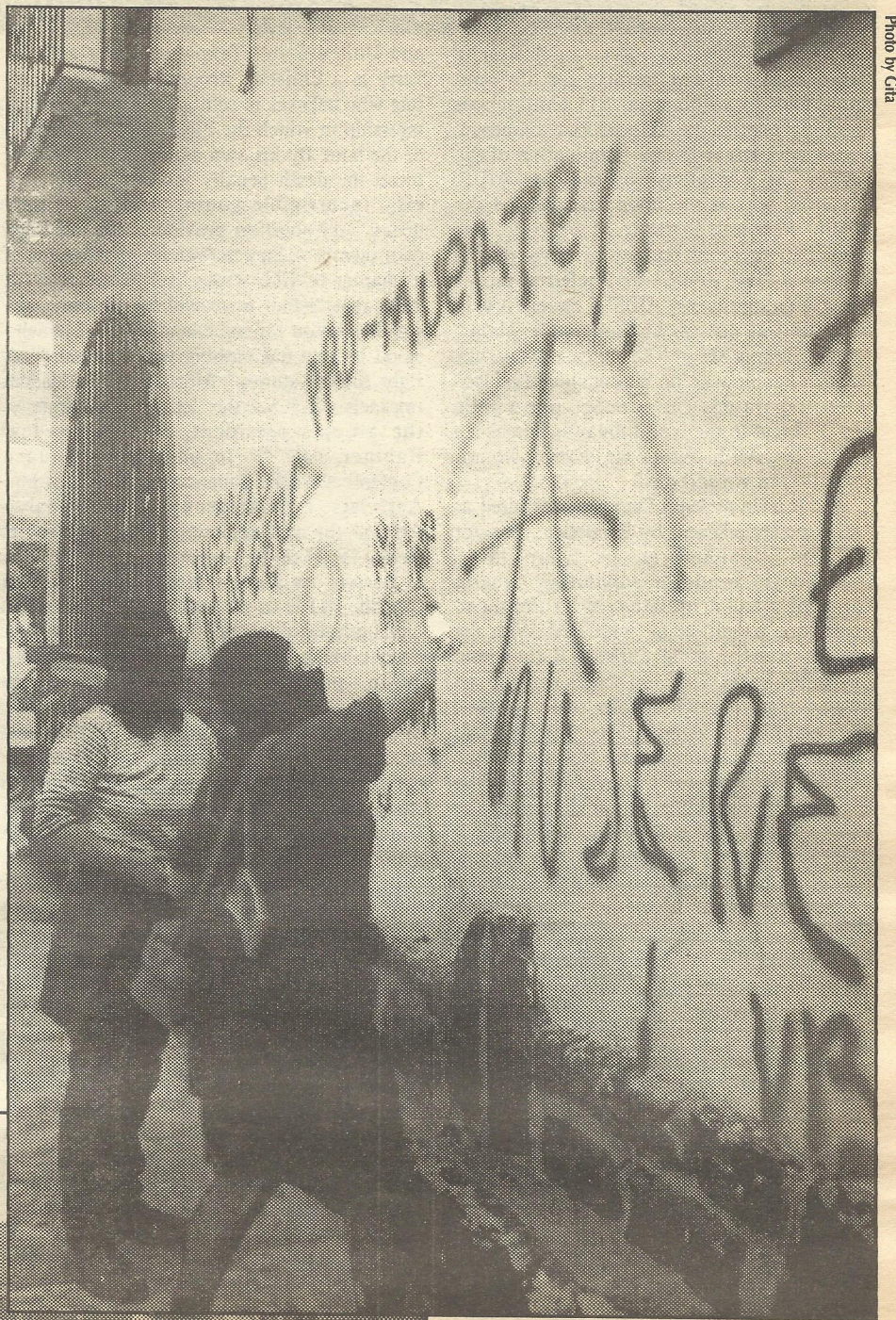


Photo by Cita

**On March 8,  
International Women's Day, Love  
and Rage trashed the anti-choice  
organization Pro-Vida's head-  
quarters in Mexico City.  
Anti-choice bigots beware!  
Reproductive freedom  
for all women!**



Photo by Cita

"We are not incubators. Sexual education without prejudice. Free abortion on demand. L&R-RAF"

## (Dis)Connection #3 1/2 Needs Submissions

**D**isconnection is a networking/infos-haring zine for anti-authoritarian counter-institutions and collectives. We're looking for articles on starting, maintaining, and the growth of infoshops, community centers, bookstores, community radio, performance spaces, housing and food co-ops, rural/urban autonomous zones, distribution projects, grassroots activism, fundraising, dual power, collective process and dynamics, and anything else you can think of that we forgot. Of course we want news, updates, artwork, and information on upcoming events too.

Our deadline is June 1st and we mean it! We hope to have it out by mid-June. Please send submissions, suggestions, and donations to:

(Dis)connection  
c/o Librairie Alternative Bookshop  
2035 St. Laurent, 2nd floor  
Montréal, PQ  
H2X 2T3  
(514) 844-3207

## GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES. THEY NEED YOUR HELP. JOIN THE FEDERATION

If you find yourself in general agreement with the politics of the Love and Rage Federation, get involved! Contact one of the local groups listed here, or write the Federation Office for information if there is no group near you.

Amor y Rabia  
Apdo. 11-351/CP 06101  
México, DF

BCAC  
PO Box 93312  
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Detroit Love and Rage  
PO Box 10491  
Livernois Station  
Detroit, MI 48210  
(313) 730-3517

Federation Office  
PO Box 25412  
Albuquerque, NM 87125  
bright@thales.nmia.com

Hamilton Love and Rage  
PO Box 57069  
Jackson Station  
Hamilton, ONT  
L8M 4W9

Lansing Love and Rage  
PO Box 6746  
East Lansing, MI 48826

Minneapolis Love and Rage  
PO Box 7075  
Minneapolis, MN 55407

New York Area Love and Rage  
PO Box 853  
Stuyvesant Station  
New York, NY 10009  
(718) 834-9077  
lnr@nyxfer.blythe.org

San Francisco Bay Area Love and Rage  
PO Box 3606  
Oakland, CA 94609-0606

Washington DC Love and Rage  
PO Box 18672  
Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 728-3899

## Other Revolutionary Feminist Periodicals

Bad Attitude  
121 Raiton Road  
London SE24 0LR  
United Kingdom  
Bi-monthly giant-sized radical  
women's newspaper/magazine. News and  
articles on revolutionary feminism worldwide.  
Something like \$6 by mail.

The Body Politic  
Box 2363  
Binghamton, NY 13902-2363  
A 36 page, 11 issues/year magazine  
devoted to the struggle for reproductive freedom.  
\$4 by mail.



# Calendar

May 13  
10-year anniversary of  
the bombing of the  
MOVE House by the state.  
11 am-5 pm  
1199C Union Hall  
(Juniper & Locust Streets)  
Philadelphia, PA  
Info: (215) 387-9955

May 19  
Malcolm X and Ho Chi Minh's Birthday

May 19-21  
Arrowbear Anarchist Conference  
A gathering in a small  
mountain community two  
hours drive east of Los Angeles.  
Info: (310) 490-7284

June 2-4  
Social Ecology and the Urban Alternative  
The Annual Conference of  
the Institute for Social Ecology  
New York City  
Info: (718) 963-4839  
(718) 832-3609

June 15-26  
Food Not Bombs International Gathering  
and protest of the United Nations' use of  
violence on behalf of transnational corporate greed  
on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the UN.  
San Francisco  
Info: (800) 884-1136

June 25  
Stonewall 26—Burn the City Down!  
New York City

## CUNY

(Continued from page 5)

contributing vital materials to future social explosions. The budget cuts are, in effect, long-term riot control.

### WE DON'T NEED NO STINKING PERMITS

The anti-budget cut movement is a very broad one and there are enormous contradictions between the various forces it has brought together. Perhaps the sharpest contradiction has arisen between the "left-wing" of the Democratic Party as represented by 1199 and the more autonomous CUNY Coalition. While 1199 has a membership of tens of thousands of working class people who will be directly affected by the cuts, the leadership of the union is in the hands of people who will be affected in a very different way, the cuts will undermine their claim to institutionalized power. By contrast, the CUNY Coalition, in spite of many failings, is honestly led by students who are not directly concerned with future political careers. The March 23 demonstration was more than an attack on the budget cuts. It was a challenge to the ability of the Democrats to keep opposition to the budget cuts within the bounds of protest-as-usual. The Democrats and the rest of institutionalized progressivism (the unions, churches, etc.) are in deep trouble. They have lost much of their traditional support among white workers to the right. Their one remaining claim to viability is their ability to rein in the unruly elements of the more despised sections of society. It is clear that on the whole the system is choosing to rely more heavily on repression (cops and prisons) than on the strategy of co-optation represented by the progressive Democrats. Demonstrations like the one on March 23 only reinforce the idea that the ungainly bureaucracies of institutionalized progres-

sivism are as ineffective and irrelevant as they are expensive.

The hastily organized April 4 demonstration was nothing more than a cynical attempt by politicians and bureaucrats to get out in front of a mass movement and then bring it back under control. The failure of the March 23 demonstration was our failure to break through police lines and march on Wall Street. The CUNY Coalition had deliberately decided not to get a permit for such a march in order to avoid working with the police in blunting the power of our own demonstration. Denis Rivera and Al Sharpton sought to capitalize on this failure by organizing a permitted march from City Hall to Wall Street. They succeeded in moving 5,000 people from point A to point B, but in so doing they sacrificed what made March 23 powerful even in its failure, the willingness of 30,000 people to show up to a demonstration with the explicit intention of shutting the city down to defeat the cuts.

### THE CUNY COALITION

The CUNY Coalition was formally initiated at the start of the Spring semester by the president of student government at Bronx Community College, but most of the work to build the coalition appeared to be carried out by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), a Trotskyist group, working with the student government at the CUNY Graduate Center. While the ISO has large chapters at a number of private colleges in New York, the only CUNY campus where they have a significant presence is the CUNY Graduate Center. Initially, CUNY Coalition meetings were supposed to rotate from school to school, but because of the superior facilities offered by the Graduate Center the meetings became fixed there.

Both the ISO and the Graduate Center are considerably whiter in composition than the rest of CUNY. CUNY Coalition meetings have a majority of white students while the movements on the various campuses are overwhelmingly made up of people of color. In addition to the ISO and the Graduate Center a



March 23

number of other tiny Trotskyist groups representing almost no significant base on the campuses decided to make CUNY Coalition meetings a forum for airing their various party lines at great length. The net effect of all this was an atmosphere of distrust and poor communications between the largely white leadership of the Coalition and its largely Black, Latino and Asian bases on the campuses. This played itself out on March 23.

March 23 was the largest demonstration by youth of color in New York history. While the call for the demonstration emphasized our intention to shut the city down, the Trotskyists inflicted an interminable program of speakers, including every vaguely progressive union bureaucrat any of them had ever met, on a crowd eager to get into the streets. Security for the demonstration was organized independently by each school with a coordinating apparatus that never actually worked with the consequence that there was no effective stage security and everybody with a buddy over 175 pounds could get on the stage and demand a turn on the microphone and many did. After almost two hours of music, speeches and visible chaos on stage, the announcement was made that we were going to march to Wall Street. The problem, of course, was that there were several thousand cops gathered and ready to stop us. The bigger problem was that there wasn't the coordination within the crowd to break through the police lines. While some of the failure of coordination can be blamed on technical problems, the real failure was political. The lines of trust and communication between campuses had not been built up to the point that they could overcome the predictable technical and logistical screw-ups.

In spite of these weaknesses March 23 also demonstrated the incredible power represented by the CUNY Coalition in the fighting spirit displayed by thousands of students over the course of the demonstration. March 23 announced the existence of thousands of students, primarily students of color, who are prepared to do whatever it takes to defeat the budget cuts. If the CUNY Coalition failed to turn this potentiality into

an effective action to actually shut down the financial center of the world, it must be credited with making that potentiality clear to the students of CUNY and to the world.

### THE BIRTH OF A MOVEMENT

For the past several years we have witnessed the almost complete disintegration of any sort of radical oppositional politics in the US. The movement against the budget cuts in New York is a significant reversal of this trend. Also, events like the Los Angeles rebellion have demonstrated the existence of broad and deep contempt for the existing order and a willingness to take to the streets to challenge it. While it is still in its earliest and most vulnerable stages, we are right now witnessing the birth of a new movement. The anti-budget-cut movement is not a tired re-run of all the failed last stands of the old left of the '80s. It has successfully mobilized thousands of people who have never participated in any sort of politics before and their vitality is palpable. This spirit was expressed clearly the day after March 23 when students at Hunter College gathered to sum up the demonstration and to talk about where they wanted to go. While the room was filled with pacifists, militants, democratic socialists, anarchists, communists, nationalists, Christians, Muslims, and independent radicals, there was a profound feeling of unity. When it was suggested that everybody take a minute to say what it was that they stood for and wanted the group to stand for that unity was made clear. Although our commitment to defeating the cuts and defending CUNY had brought us together not one person mentioned either. All but two people spoke specifically of revolution. One Palestinian student said simply "I believe in love" and was met with loud applause. The right has overplayed its hand. Pataki's budget has given birth to a movement that will not be going away soon. He has compelled us to speak openly about our desire for a new society and the love of the people that motivates it. Nothing is more dangerous to the powers that be.★



March 23



# An Interview with Major Moisés and Commander Tacho of the EZLN

INTERVIEW CONDUCTED BY BILL WEINBERG

[Moisés and Tacho are members of the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee-General Command of the EZLN. This interview took place on January 18 outside the Lacandona Jungle village of Guadalupe Tepeyac at Aguascalientes, a jungle amphitheater the Zapatistas built for the first national meeting of the National Democratic Convention in August 1994. Guadalupe Tepeyac has since been taken by government troops and Aguascalientes has been razed.]

In one of his last communiqués to the press, Subcommander Marcos said that the EZLN is not a traditional guerrilla army, but a regular army with complete control of its territory. That is clearly the case here in the Lacandona Jungle. But is it really true in the highlands too? Aren't the highland communities more divided?

Moisés: No, it's the same. In the highland communities there need to be better tactics to carry out the orders the troops receive from the *Comandancia*. But it is the same—it is a regular army in the highlands too. The organization of the EZLN is the same in the highlands as it is here. It is not a guerrilla, it is a regular army.

But here in Guadalupe, in the Lacandona Jungle, the Zapatistas are the open authority, while the municipal authorities in the highlands are *Priistas* and *caciques* (functionaries of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI] and their local political strongmen).

Moisés: It is a process. We will follow what the population says. When they say it is time to announce our presence to the municipal authorities, it is done. We don't want to impose our position. We follow what the people want. They are aware of their own situation—the balance of power with the ranchers, the *caciques*. They will know the right moment. And then we will be the authority in the highlands too. The highlands are merely in a different stage of the same process.

I wonder if you could tell us something about your life and how you came to be a Zapatista.

Moisés: I was a small farmer. I was born here in Chiapas. Since I was a little child, I participated in the meetings of the commu-

nity where I lived. We talked about the land conflicts, transportation, credit. So I understood the problems of our communities, and I was involved in their organizing to demand a solution to the land problem. Three generations have been demanding land here in Chiapas. I participated in the big marches for land, and in one march we were met with repression. That was in 1975.

After that I started to study, to read about the Indian struggles of 1521, of Hidalgo in 1810, of Zapata in 1910, of Rubén Jaramillo in the 1950s, and Lucio Cabañas between 1970 and 1975. I realized that the problem of land and the *campesinos* is on a national level, and that peaceful struggle was not the solution.

Why? Because the government makes the laws and violates them at will. That is justice for them, not for us. If the *campesino* doesn't obey, he faces the judicial police, while the landowners break the law with impunity. So I realized that the way was not through peaceful struggle.

Zapatista political representatives started to show up in the Indian communities, locating people they could work with in the struggle. One political representative from the EZLN got in touch with me. We spoke about the situation in my community.

Justice, peace, and freedom do not exist in México. There is no freedom in the media; the television, radio, the press; there is no freedom of movement. The government accuses us of being guerrillas, of being drug traffickers, of being Central Americans, foreigners—right here in our own state. But it is a lie.

When did the Zapatista representatives first contact you?

Moisés: In 1980. They were still a nucleus of politicization and consciousness-raising then. They started calling themselves Zapatistas and drew up a program for forming a national liberation army in 1983.

What language did they speak in the community where you grew up?

Moisés: They spoke Tzeltal.

What kind of education did you get in the village of your youth back in the '70s?

Moisés: There were six teachers in our village. Three of them really tried to educate us, the other three only taught us bourgeois

ideas. There were two groups of teachers—the democrats and the *charros*. The *charros* were on the side of the rich, the government. They just got drunk, and the communities rejected them. The teachers themselves were violently divided, so I was only in school for six months and I didn't learn anything. But when I arrived in the EZLN, there I really began to learn. The EZLN taught me to read, to write, to add, to subtract.

Did you speak Spanish before you joined the EZLN?

Moisés: It was very difficult for me. I couldn't speak well with the *compañeros*. But they taught us through readings and lectures, political conversations about the situation in our country. Now in the Zapatista communities, the democratic teachers can stay, but the *charros* have to go. And those who know how to read and write have to teach the others.

What about other armed movements in México? There are rumors about armed groups in the Sierra of Chiapas and in Oaxaca.

Moisés: We think so. The *campesinos* in México have a tradition of struggle against their exploiters. This is the logical process. The *campesinos* always struggle against the conditions of misery. We know there are many armed groups in the Mexican south, but let's see what their purpose is. Sometimes they are drug traffickers. But sometimes they are *campesinos* who are arming themselves against the landlords' gunmen. There are some armed groups which have approached us and are now under the command of the EZLN. How many and where, we can't say.

Outside of Chiapas?

Moisés: Outside of Chiapas. There are also other groups not under the command

## Interview with Cecilia Rodríguez: EZLN Representative in the US

Conducted March 19, 1995 in Chicago by Matt Miscreant.

What is the National Commission for Democracy in México?

It's a national network of people committed to supporting the Zapatistas in México. It's also an information dissemination vehicle, which grew out of the original idea of the EZLN's, which was to establish an information center which people could access. The commission now functions as a network of people engaged in mobilization and other kinds of political work.

How was it formed?

Pretty much by accident, in the sense that the founding group was composed of 14 or 15 people who attended the first National Democratic Convention. There was no representation to it, there was no combing of the ranks. But that was the founding group and since then the commission has expanded.

What's the relationship between the NCDM and the EZLN?

The NCDM is charged with specific goal of promoting the Zapatista cause and supporting and allowing people on a local level and on a national level to participate and have a more direct relationship with the EZLN. While the commission doesn't exclude participation or support of other aspects of the democracy movement, that is its primary function. The other thing is that I function as the representative and spokesperson of the EZLN, so that places the people on the commission in a particularly interesting position in the sense that whatever scrutiny is on the EZLN, whatever kinds of pressure will be manifest on the people participating in the Commission. And in spite of that, I haven't sensed any reluctance on the part of people to participate and put their organizations on the line, because of their com-



Major Moisés

of the EZLN, but who share the same struggles as the EZLN.

We don't want war. But the evil government obliges us to take up arms. Education is our right. Dignified work is our right. Health care is our right. Access to communications media is our right. This is what we were saying when we took up arms on January 1, 1994—that Salinas was responsible for the situation facing Indian people in México. That's why we demanded the resignation of Salinas. Now if Mr. Zedillo is following the same idea, the same plan as Salinas, he will lose the reins of power. The war will continue until this system comes to an end. The Mexican people are waking up.

But you are willing to talk with the government.

Moisés: Words are one thing; deeds are another. The government's deeds will show us what is really true. Right now there is just one small group that imposes its will on México. We want the people to govern themselves.

We cannot call the conditions we live under now "peace." We face persecution, imprisonment, torture, assassination, disap-

mitment to the Zapatistas and the vision that they provide for México and what's going on in the world.

How were you selected as the EZLN's representative in the United States?

I had worked in Chiapas and those areas for quite a bit of time in the early '80s and learned a great deal from that experience, about who I was, what indigenous culture was portrayed to me and what it really meant in México. In January '94 I went shortly after the rebellion happened because I was fairly clear that this was a head-on collision. The PRI and the EZLN, just in terms of the way in which the abusive relationship of betrayal and deception had existed for many years. You could somewhat reasonably predict, just by being there and living there, that a war was coming. There was no willingness to peacefully change any way in which those communities were treated. I went in January and did some work around that issue. In July, after some discussion with the Subcomandante, he asked me to develop the work and see what could happen. His original idea was for a center in Washington, DC, and I stated to him that I felt there was a great potential for grassroots participation and that was probably the most effective way of keeping the US off México's back. So the idea of the commission was germinated in those early discussions and the group which eventually became involved brought it to fruition.

What's the relationship between the NCDM and the rest of the democratic movement in México?

We collaborate with the rest of the democratic movement. We ally ourselves with those groupings which the EZLN identifies as important manifestations of the democracy movement. We need to work a great deal on the concept of democracy in México, what it means, how it actually functions or doesn't function in México.

One of the things that we feel needs to



Cecilia Rodríguez



## THE ZAPATISTA STRUGGLE CONTINUES

pearance. This is not peace. We are dying from diarrhea, vomit, parasites. We live in sadness, in pain. This is not peace. Meanwhile, the rich—they have everything. They aren't lacking in anything at all. For them, there is peace. For us, the *campesinos* and poor of México—what? There is no peace, there is no justice, there is no democracy. So we will fight, and if necessary, we will die.

The Zapatistas and the rebel government of Chiapas are demanding autonomy for the indigenous peoples. What does this mean? Who exactly will govern in these autonomous regions?

Tacho: The communities have declared "new municipalities" throughout Chiapas and are already governing themselves. In the first days of 1994, when we declared war on the evil government of Salinas, the new municipalities began to organize, and gave rights to people who had never had rights before—the right to participate in running their own communities. The new, independent municipalities showed how they could govern themselves, even without information and education. They showed the rest of the world what they could do.

Autonomy is protection of indigenous culture; indigenous communities deciding how they want to live, and having a respected place in Mexican society. Even here in Chiapas where Indians are the majority, we don't count. That is why we are in arms. For example, nobody came to ask us if we agreed with the privatization of the *ejidos* [communally owned plots of land]. Nobody. The government of Salinas merely imposed this decision on the communities.

Where they speak Tzeltal, Chol, Tojolobal, or other Indian languages, they cannot understand the language of the bureaucrats, and the government exploits this situation. These communities have to have a voice. So the EZLN, from our First Declaration of the Lacandona Jungle, has demanded the right of Indians to elect their own governments, and now we are defending that right. In our territories, the Indians have the right to elect their own

municipal councils. That is why there are the new municipalities and autonomous regions.

But that doesn't signify independence from México. It means a dignified place for Indians within México.

But the majority of Mexicans are *mestizos*, not Indians.

Tacho: We think there are many Indians in México. The majority of the people in Chiapas, in Oaxaca, in Guerrero, in many other states of the republic, are Indians. There are the Tarahumaras in the north. People in other countries don't realize Mexican Indians exist, because the evil government doesn't pay attention to us. They make money off the folklore and archeology of the Indians, but deceive the rest of the world about the condition of Indians in México. But they can't do that any more. We have shown that Indian communities can govern themselves.

But the EZLN does not want to be sitting behind desks in offices. We want respect for indigenous dignity. That is what we are fighting for.

Chiapas exports electricity to the rest of México, but we don't have electricity. We don't have roads, we don't have education. We don't exist for the government. This is the just demand of the EZLN—for the dignity of every Indian and every indigenous community.

The EZLN also speaks of democracy. But clearly this notion of regional autonomy is different from the traditional concept of two-party democracy that we have in my country, the United States.

Tacho: Our thought is that the people in our own communities can run our own affairs, and be able to elect and recall our own leaders at any time, both locally and nationally. Autonomy means communities arguing, discussing, planning, deciding how we want to live, how we want to share the wealth, and presenting our plans to the national government. This has never happened before in the history of our country. Always the authorities, the government, make their own plans to control the national wealth and resources as they

wish. For example, the changes to Article 27, the privatization of the *ejidos* and state companies, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the change of the currency, the famous "modernization" of the farms and the cities. They didn't give us an explanation for any of these things. There was no previous discussion with the Indians and *campesinos*. Why privatization? Who will benefit? The change to Article 27 shows no respect for the *campesino* communities. So we say there needs to be real democracy and free dialogue over these issues. In the long history of México, we have never had this. Why didn't Salinas step down when the people demanded it? Because the oligarchic group in México has power, and Salinas protects their interests.

In most countries, the legislature has the right to remove the president, but not the people.

Tacho: But our elected officials do not represent us. Let me give you the example of the municipal president in Las Margaritas, Romeo Suárez Culebro. He has been elected four times, despite all the protests and accusations against him. Clearly, the people don't want him, they are demanding that he step down. He says all the roads in Margaritas are paved, but the people know this isn't true. Where are the millions of pesos he received to pave those roads? And how is it possible that Salinas believed him? The federal government doesn't have a helicopter to see how many roads in Margaritas are really paved? But they had helicopters to drop bombs on the Indian people last January. It isn't correct. It isn't just.

Tell us about the role of the Clandestine Committee.

Tacho: Our work in the Clandestine Committee is with the base of the people, to talk and develop the struggle for democracy and freedom. We always go to the base for our decisions in the struggle. We have known the people we work with for years. We are a part of the communities we work in.★

people relate to. That people are not part of like say, a political framework, they don't belong to a party, they don't participate with any particular ideological organization, but they're honest, they have a set of social commitments, that's what we can do, and that's what we need to do. That's the particular analysis of the EZLN in terms of their work in México and in terms of their work with people internationally. It's going to be a real challenge to figure out how to implement it here. That's where it needs to go in order to deal with the forces that we're up against. We have to expand much more the base of people with whom we dialogue with and who we get involved.

What sort of relationship do you see between the NCDM and social struggles in the US?

In order not to be a traditional solidarity movement, we want to link the issue of Chiapas with issues here in the States. There have been a couple of people who have told me that that's impossible. It's a tension and it will always be a tension. I think that 187, the Republican Contract with America, the militarization of society in the sense of how much more money is being dumped into armed forces. All of those things are part of what the Zapatistas are fighting. what we've never done before is build an economic analysis into our work. We've sort of done it in a rhetorical kind of way, but never in the sense of having a holistic picture of where these problems come from, we always do it based on an issue. 187 is an issue, cops on the street is the issue, the drug war is an issue. It's not that, we can't frame it that way anymore. We have to figure out how to do that, and granted it's difficult, but I don't think it's impossible. I also think it's what needs to be done in this period. This issue-based work doesn't seem to be building any strength for the opposition. It's very clear that liberalism is dead in the States as far as I'm concerned. There are no liberal voices, I don't care if they call themselves Democrat, I don't care if they call themselves a liberal, there are no liberal voices that have any credibility, that have any concrete proposal. Instead of being devastated by that, we have to figure out how to replace that. How to build an ideology that isn't based on liberalism, that is based on a vision of human development, of social growth, that people will be attracted to. I don't think it's going to be any easy



task, I just think that's what's there in front of us.

The NCDM is a multinational organization, but much of the leadership and membership is Mexican or Chicano. Can you comment on how the NCDM deals with this?

That's pretty much been the natural evolution of things. There has not been a deliberate effort to say "we're going to direct ourselves to this particular group." I remember very vividly working on that list of people to be invited to the Convention, inviting the Indigenous people, the solidarity people, this, this, this. Thinking through the different sectors and making appeals to people on that basis. We did get some people, Indigenous people, white people, African-Americans. It remains to be seen what that leadership does.

I think at this point there is still potential for it to be a multi-racial grouping, but we had a harder time reaching other folks, who may say "we're already committed to Haiti, we're already committed to Guatemala." In all speaking engagements I've done to other groups, there doesn't seem to be an impetus.

There's some concern about people who want to make this their own struggle, they want to be able to assert leadership. I don't believe that you can demand to be the leadership of something. To be a leader you have to earn it. It remains to be seen how much of that leadership is earned. It certainly is not going to be happening in this situation. I think it will be interesting to see how that whole question develops.

What sort of things were you doing before the Zapatista uprising and how did you come to be in the place where you were in January?

After I did that work in Chiapas, I worked with a garment workers center in El Paso, Texas, which I organized on a notion of organizing a base community. I deliberately separated myself from most of the activist community and most of the so-called progressive left circles and focused on building that base and developing an independent organization. The experience of Chiapas has always guided me in the sense that I had this feeling that someday there would be a war in México, that the situation would deteriorate to the point where I had no answer for how we in the States were going to respond.

There was this *compañero* of mine, who's no longer alive, who used to ask me this question: "what is it that's going to moti-

(Continued to page 17)





Colin Ferguson

# Conclusions on Colin

BY MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

"A person who represents him/herself, has a fool for a client." (Lawyers Saying)

The trial of *People v. Colin Ferguson* in New York has ended, with a conviction on six second degree murder counts, with numerous other convictions on lesser offenses, stemming from the widely-publicized shooting of commuters in Long Island.

News accounts have labeled the Jamaican defendant as "insane," with one lawyer describing the immigrant as "crazy as a kumquat."

The gist of national reporting was "insanity" caused the Long Island shootings, and "craziness" made him choose to represent himself, especially when the extremely able criminal defense lawyer, William Kunstler, signed on to the head of the team.

As always in big cases like this, jailhouse lawyers and other prisoners discuss such cases of death;

"Papa, now I can't believe that New York judge let that Jamaican dude actually represent himself! I mean, dude is nutty as a fruitcake! Can you believe that shit?"

"Well, they doin' it, ain't they?"

"Ain't no question 'bout that—they sure doin' it... But how? In fact, how could dude be ruled competent at all?"

"Whatcha mean 'how,' Osiris? They did it, that's how!"

"Check this out, Papa: If dude is crazy—and he seem crazy as hell to me—then how could he even have been declared 'competent,' in the first place, to even get this far in the trial?!"

"Dig this, man: There ain'tta judge in the entire state that'll say that dude, Ferguson, is crazy, even if he know heze crazy. Judges is politicians, man, and the judge who sez that

dude is crazy ain't got no career. 'Member Jeff 'the Chef' Dahmer? Didn't dude kill 15 people? Didn't he put'em in the pan, add butter and garlic, and EAT 'EM UP?"

"Yeah, so...?"

"Well, if a judge can say he is sane, and that Mfer put folks ina pot!...Well? They know that boy Ferguson crazy-and by lettin' him roll they insure a conviction."

The propaganda that flooded national newspapers about "right to self-representation" is sheer nonsense. I read a quote in a newspaper report on Ferguson's recently which claimed, according to an "expert" that if a judge is given the power to determine who can and who cannot represent themselves, then that person's right to a fair trial is "fettered" (or shackled).

What legalistic propaganda!

If the were true, then why are nine MOVE members still doing a total of 900 years in prison, when all of them were denied the "right" of self-representation?

Were their rights to trial "fettered"?

What of a case where a man is charged with one murder, he opts to represent himself, and at jury selection, the DA objects, saying the charges are so serious that it would "intimidate" potential jurors, and that the defendant is "too slow" in questioning the jurors?

What if a judge accepts such an argument, and removes a defendant for self-representation?

In such a case, where a judge "determined" that man couldn't represent himself, would that person's right to trial be "fettered?"

That happened in *Commonwealth v. Abu-Jamal*.

Tell me again about the "right" to self-representation.★

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

## Support George Skatzes

On Easter Sunday, 1993, the brothers confined to the Lucasville prison rose up and took control of the prison, due to the repressive conditions created by Warden Tate and his regime. During the ill-fated siege, broadcast widely in the media, a brother then identified as "Inmate George" put his life on the line by walking into the muzzles of thousands of National Guard, State Highway Patrol, and FBI weapons to relay a message to the media that Blacks, Latinos, and whites all stood united against their oppressors and the oppressive policies of Warden Tate, that it was not a racial thing, and that all wished for a peaceful end to the siege via negotiations, which the Department of Corrections was not engaging in.

"Inmate George" was soon identified as Big George Skatzes, doing a life sentence for murder that a private investigator announced on nationwide TV that she didn't believe he had committed. After the siege, the guard/hostages publicly declared that it was Big George who did the most to ensure their safety while being held hostage.

Even though the guard/hostages praised Big George for keeping them safe, and trying to restore order from disorder, the Special Prosecutor has kept him and the other spokesmen in complete isolation since the uprising, fabricating false rumors that George was going to inform on his fellow prisoners, and allowing Chillicothe (Correctional Institution) prison guards to steal his regular and privileged legal mail, harass his wife both verbally and physically when she came to visit, and to use every form of torture and behavior modification tactic known in order to break him, his wife, and supporters. George and the other negotiators have been indicted for murder with death penalty specifications for the death of guard Robert Vallindingham because all but one refused to testify against the brothers inside.

Chillicothe prison officials have been withholding George's mail, but during the week of February 11, 1995, a letter dating back to November 1994 was

received from George, stating that due to the constant harassment of his wife, interruption of his legal mail, and conditions of his confinement, he was starting a hunger strike, as he could not prepare his defense from the railroad the state is running on him by charging him with murder. Jason Robb is the first brother on trial now for the murder of Vallindingham, and the state is purported to be trying George next.

This is an urgent call for action, asking all of you to flood the governor's office with calls, faxes, and letters, as well as similar protests to the Department of Rehabilitation and Corrections (DRC) Director Reginald Wilkinson, demanding that George be transferred out of the North Hole at Chillicothe C.I., that they cease harassing his wife, and that his regular and legal mail no longer be withheld, censored, or destroyed. Further, ask that he be treated like the honorable person he is, so he may prepare his defense. DRC officials have admitted to the media that they have been censoring his "privileged attorney/client mail;" they were reprimanded for it, and a civil suit is pending on this.

This brother put his life on the line against oppression and is paying dearly for it. Your immediate help is vital. Call, fax, or write:

Governor George Voinovich  
Vern Riffe Center  
77 South High St.  
Columbus, OH 43266-0603  
(614) 466-3555

Director Reginald Wilkinson  
1050 Freeway Dr. N. #403  
Columbus, OH 43229  
(614) 437-2771

Write letters of encouragement to George, urging him to stay strong and letting him know we care:

George Skatzes #173-501  
Box 5500 C.C.I.  
Chillicothe, OH 45601



## Anarchist Black Cross and Other Prison Abolition Groups

ABC Baltimore  
PO Box 19245  
Baltimore, MD 21213

ABC Minneapolis  
PO Box 7075  
Minneapolis, MN 55407

BCAC  
PO Box 93312  
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Brooklyn ABC  
PO Box 365  
Canal St. Station  
New York, NY 10013

Love and Rage Prison Abolition Working Group  
PO Box 77432  
Washington, DC 20013  
email: ms272c@gwuvm.gwu.edu  
(202) 728-3899

Mark Cook Freedom Committee  
PO Box 85763  
Seattle, WA 98145-2763  
email: guawk@eskimo.com

Nightcrawlers ABC  
PO Box 1034  
Mott Haven Station  
Bronx, NY 10454

Paterson Anarchist Collective/NJ ABC  
PO Box 8532  
Paterson, NJ 07508

Pelican Bay Information Project  
2489 Mission St. #28  
San Francisco, CA 94110

Prison News Service  
Box 5052 Station A  
Toronto, Ont.  
M5W 1W4



# Fight to Free Mumia

BY W. SCHWEITZER

The threat to the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal grew on March 30 as the newly-elected Republican governor of Pennsylvania, Tom Ridge, signed two new death warrants for other prisoners on death row. Ridge has now signed five death warrants since taking office in January. In his election campaign, Ridge promised to begin executions in Pennsylvania, something which the Commonwealth has not done since the early '60s.

For those who want to free Mumia, any execution is a bad precedent. However, in signing the latest warrants, many supporters of Mumia believe that Ridge departed from his own criteria in that he could have signed Mumia's warrant, but didn't. If true, this is certainly not due to some mental lapse on the part of Ridge, but to the public pressure on him organized by Mumia's defense.

IF RIDGE DOES SIGN A WARRANT ON MUMIA, GROUPS DEFENDING HIM HAVE CALLED FOR MASS ACTIONS AROUND THE COUNTRY ON THE DAY AFTER THE WARRANT IS ISSUED.

Meanwhile, Mumia's book, *Live From Death Row*, is now out. This is in spite of a police-sponsored campaign first to suppress it, and then to seize the \$30,000 advance which Mumia got from the publisher. The cops and their groupies have so far failed on the first two counts, but have succeeded in further muzzling Mumia under the guise of an internal prison investigation into whether Mumia was conducting a 'business' (the book) while in jail. As a result, he has been cut off from visits by his paralegals, and denied access to the media, including PBS, *People* magazine, Gil Noble, and the French national television network.

By way of contrast, consider the treatment of Stacey Koon, the sergeant in charge of the Los Angeles goon squad in blue which beat up Rodney King on video. While Koon was locked up, he received much publicity and some \$4 million for the book he wrote.

While Stacey Koon became rich and famous because of a state-sanctioned beating, the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal has been quite different. As a teenager committed to the liberation of Black people, he joined the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia in the late 1960s. He learned to write for the party paper, *The Black Panther*. Later, after the demise of the original Panthers, he turned to broadcast journalism, reporting for a local Philadelphia radio station. He also did

pieces for National Public Radio's "All Things Considered." In 1978 he stirred up the wrath of the mayor and ex-police commissioner, Frank Rizzo, by reporting both sides of the first Philadelphia police raid on the MOVE organization. (Seven years later the next mayor and the police would build on that experience by bombing MOVE's new house with the inhabitants inside and letting the entire neighborhood burn down).

After seeing what the MOVE people really stood for, Mumia became sympathetic toward the group. Because of his reporting, he became known as the "Voice of the Voiceless." In 1981 he was elected president of the Philadelphia Association of Black Journalist and featured by *Philadelphia* magazine as one of its "people to watch."

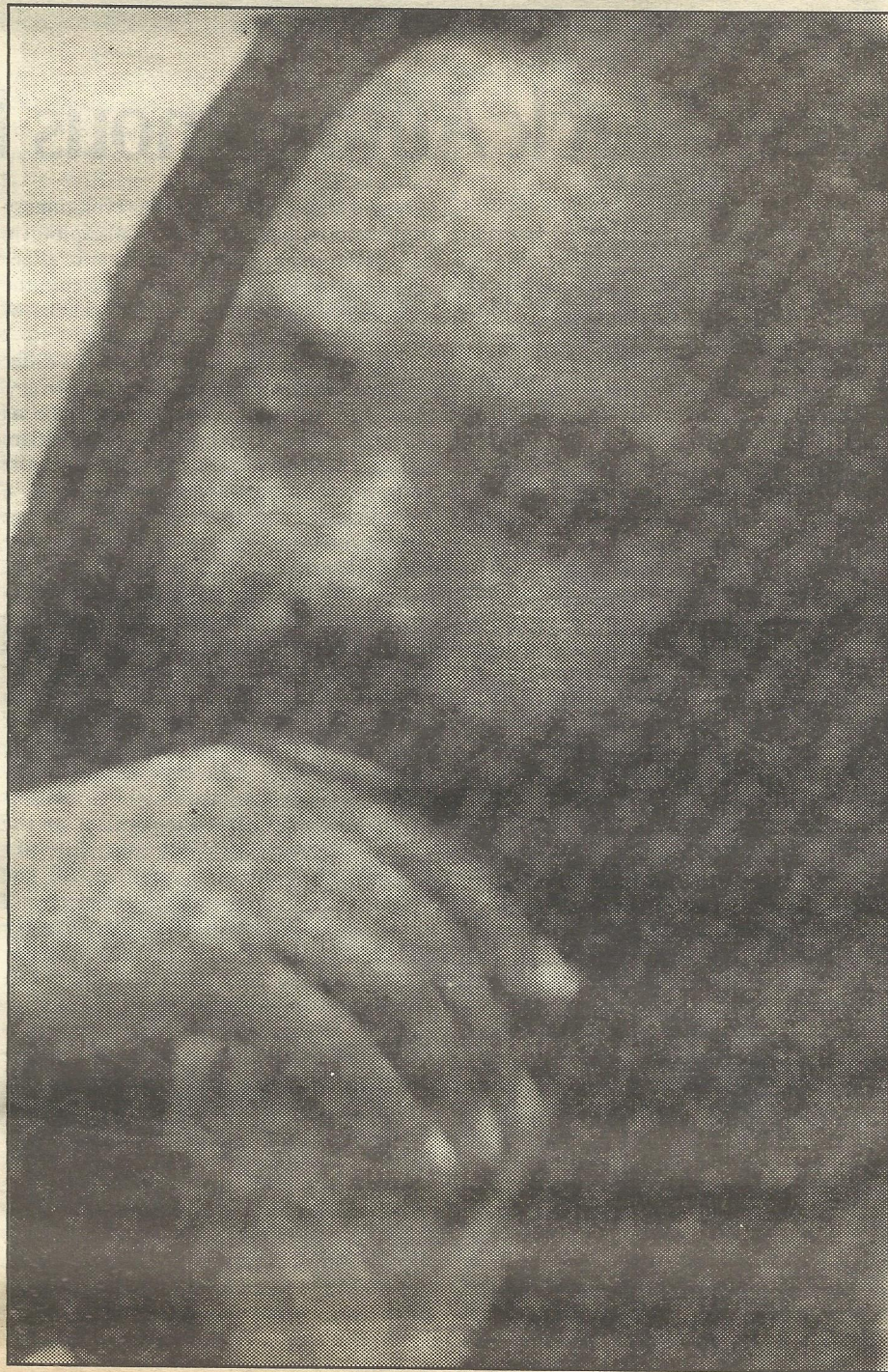
It was in this context that, at the end of 1981, while moonlighting as a cab driver, Mumia came upon a dispute between a Philadelphia police officer and a Black motorist, who turned out to be Mumia's brother. When Mumia arrived on the scene, the policeman had already beaten Mumia's brother with his flashlight. In the struggle which followed, one police officer, Faulkner, was shot dead, and Mumia was seriously wounded with Faulkner's gun. Mumia was beaten, arrested, and taken to a hospital.

In the investigation which followed, the gun which was used was never found. Moreover, at least four eyewitnesses reported another man fleeing the scene. No attempt was made to find this man.

Mumia was sent to trial on an intentional murder charge before Judge Albert Sabo in 1982. Sabo has the distinction of having sentenced more people to death than any other judge in the country. The prosecution's case rested mainly on the statement of four eyewitnesses, some of questionable background, who gave conflicting accounts. One possible witness for Mumia, the police officer who accompanied him to the hospital and whose report would have contradicted the account of the prosecution witnesses, was denied him.

In fact, any decent representation was denied to Mumia. Halfway through jury selection Sabo barred Mumia from representing himself and shut him out of the court into another room where he could not hear nor otherwise follow the proceedings. The judge then appointed an unwilling attorney to take over the defense with no preparation.

Not surprisingly, Mumia was found guilty. (It should be noted here that even if,



Mumia Abu-Jamal

for argument's sake, Mumia were assumed to be guilty of shooting the cop in the altercation, he should have been convicted only of manslaughter, not intentional murder—and therefore should have been out of prison by now.)

The campaign to free Mumia has now gone on for years and has assumed international proportions. Mumia's is a particularly gross example of US injustice.

Send petitions and letters of protest to:

Gov. Tom Ridge  
Main Capitol Bldg., Room 225  
Harrisburg, Penn. 17120  
(717) 783-1198  
(800) 932-0784 (Penn. only)  
Fax (717) 783-1396

Send contributions to Mumia's legal defense fund:

Black United Fund/MAJ Legal Defense  
41G S. 15th St.  
Philadelphia, PA 19146  
(215) 732-9266

## Japanese Anti-Imperialist Faces Transfer to SuperMax Prison

Yu Kikumura is the Japanese anti-imperialist brother imprisoned after a sensationalist 1988 bust and trial in New Jersey. He was convicted of possession of explosive devices, based on hearsay evidence and hysterical media coverage. Yu was railroaded to 30 years in federal prison. The federal government's own guidelines called for a maximum three year sentence, but this was conveniently ignored amidst the general hysteria about so-called "terrorism." The cause of this draconian sentence? Yu's anti-imperialist politics. No more. No less.

As Yu Kikumura faces his eighth year of incarceration, a threat of transfer from USP Marion to the new Federal "supermax" prison in Florence, Co., hangs like a dark storm cloud. Already, several other political prisoners have been transferred from Marion to Florence. Such

a transfer to a notorious "supermax," where the government practices all manner of psychological and physical control, including sensory deprivation, 23-hour lockdown, and total isolation of each and every inmate from one another is cause for concern about how this country deals with political prisoners and other prisoners of conscience. From a narrow logistical point of view, Yu's imminent transfer makes communications, especially with his attorney and other friendly forces, all the more difficult. A recent CBS "60 Minutes" piece on a similar prison, California's Pelican Bay, raised deep concerns over the venal nature of such forms of incarceration. We have every reason to be concerned for Yu's safety and peace of mind.

This past summer, the Yu Kikumura Support Committee waged a letter writing mobilization to combat on-going harassment

by Marion prison authorities. Actions included the confiscation of personal property, including books on philosophy, politics, law, as well as his Japanese/English dictionaries. Yu wrote back that while the confiscation of property was in retaliation to some legal petitions he had filed, he further felt that the campaign by the support committee had its impact on prison authorities and helped him regain needed breathing space.

Legal preparation and investigation continue as his attorney seeks to file a post-conviction petition in federal district court. Such a motion will present new evidence and argue for a new trial. His attorney hopes to go to court very soon. These are the major reasons we are appealing for funds to aid us in the fight to free Yu Kikumura. In the course of this effort, we hope to expose the injustices visited

upon anti-imperialists and revolutionaries under the big stick of fighting "terrorism."

The Yu Kikumura Support Committee is a small committee of activists who have maintained communications between Yu, his lawyer, and other supporters around the country, and in Japan, where there also exists a support committee, the Yu no Kai. We rely solely on support from other concerned forces.

Please send tax-deductible contributions by making your check payable to GLACTS (Great Lakes Asian-American Center for Theology and Strategies [administered by Rev. Mike Yasutake]) and earmarking it for the Yu Kikumura Support Committee.

Send your check to:

Yu Kikumura Support Committee, c/o GLACTS  
P.O. Box 520021  
Flushing, NY 11352

## Ohio Control Unit Monitoring Project

BY JOHN PEROTTI

We are all aware of the proliferation of control units. National focus has been on Pelican Bay, Ca., Marion, Ill., Florence, Co., and Westville, Ind. But it's important to realize that almost all US gulags have control units—usually titled "administrative control," "administrative segregation," or "local control." All are isolation blocks, labeled "administrative" for the sake of litigation but all are definitely punitive segregation. A National Control Unit Monitoring Program has been instituted and sponsored by Dr. Corey Weinstein and Bonnie Kerness of American Friends Services Committee. The Anarchist Black Cross and CURE have played positive roles also. In Ohio, we have a group of progressives, anarchists, and activists

attending Oberlin College who are building a solid political platform with the Ohio prisoners, and attempting to network into a coalition with all Ohio activists and groups. Jana Schroeder, the head of the Dayton AFSC Criminal Justice Program, in coalition with other Ohio activists, will be establishing contact with any Ohio prisoner who is politically and socially active. Anyone who has been the victim of control units, have friends or family who has been victimized by these units, and criminal justice groups urged to contact:

Jana Schroeder, c/o AFSC  
915 Salem Ave.  
Dayton, OH 45406

to assist in monitoring human rights violations in the control units, as well as actively organizing against them.



## National Anti-Control Unit Demonstration and Tribunal

The National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons is a newly-formed campaign engaged in putting an end to control units. The campaign is planning a tribunal and a national demonstration against control unit prisons in Washington, DC on July 16-17. The first day will be a tribunal consisting of testimony on control units. The second day will be a demonstration. For more information about the national action or to get involved in the campaign against contact:

American Friends Service Committee  
Relations Program  
(Bonnie Kerness—Associate Director)  
972 Broad St., 6th Floor  
Newark, NJ 07102  
(201) 643-3079



# Towards a New Black Autonomous Politics

BY GREG JACKSON

The new autonomous politics is made up of the anti-authoritarian core of anarchism and many of the tenets of revolutionary Black nationalism. This combination of elements forms something so new that it has not been fully defined before now. I will attempt to define more sharply what it is that I have been talking about for the last 15 years, and also to place it within a historical context so that it can no longer be dismissed as an "eclectic mish-mash" or "corruption" of (both) ideals, as the purists might claim.

And yet, it should not alarm anarchist ideological "purists" when I speak of a Black anarchist politic. The early anarchist movement in America always reflected the cultural, social, and political ideals of the community that produced it. Thus, we had a Germanic-dominated anarcho-syndicalist tendency during the 1880s called the International Working People's Association which was strong in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and other industrial cities; a Jewish anarchist movement in New York and other cities during the 1900s, wherein some newspapers were printed entirely in Yiddish; an Italian movement in New York, New Jersey, and other areas in the 1920s-'30s, and so on. One ethnic group after another produced unique American anarchist social movements. So the question then arises, why should anyone even be surprised to learn that there will be anarchist movements which culturally and politically reflect communities of Africans or Hispanics? In talking about anarchist principles, we are not talking about "orthodoxies" which cannot be revised, we are talking about ideas which will be picked up, used by millions of oppressed people, and adapted to their purposes and circumstances.

Purists and Eurocentric ideologues will just have to shudder, because it is happening now and there is nothing that anybody can do to stop it. Even as we are talking, the first slow steps toward building the core tendency for what we call a Federation of Black Community Partisans is a reality. Several men and women have been influenced by the ideas I dared to raise in my pamphlets in the 1970s, but they have taken those ideas, made them into a class weapon reflecting the African experience on this continent, and are taking the first step to free our people and our class. It is important that we define ourselves, since we are our own liberators. We demand that Africans be subjects of history, and not mere objects whom Europeans decide with what to do. This great Black sector of humanity has said "enough," and has now started to find its own voice. There will be no condescending saviors out of the mother country; we must begin to do this our-

selves. Although we know the revolutionary project to defeat the system of capitalism and enslavement requires millions of other allies who will help us, we will decide the agenda, the timetable, and the tactics of obtaining our freedom.

The new Black autonomous politics differ from European anarchism in that we are oppressed both as a distinct people and as workers. Currently, European anarchism places its greatest contradiction with the state in the state's ability to hold back a free lifestyle, and that is exactly what we cannot limit our critique to. This is a white world-view based on a privileged place in this society. We realize that under this system, historically-constructed "races" have been created which determine both the manner of life and death, and that the state upholds this racial/class system. It is no accident, and it's true that racism has not been commissioned by individual white workers, but they have been the beneficiaries of our oppression, and whites are part of the social control mechanism of the state. It is nonsense to say otherwise, like "we are all in the same boat" or "all just workers" as the American socialist and communist movements have done. We say this is a lie and part of a myth about the white working class as a vanguard and "working class heroes."

In addition, we say that non-white people are super-oppressed because of their race under this system, not just their class. Anarchism's limitations in critiquing this type of oppression are quite obvious, and have resulted in an all-white movement, which is confused about how to intervene in struggles that involve people of other than European nationalities and how to analyze the nationalism of the oppressed. It has always been my project to extend anarchist ideals to cover new contingencies and areas of struggle not foreseen by the initiators of the doctrine.

The Black autonomists also disagree with many anarchists and other white radicals because we know that the battle is not just against "racism," or fascist vanguard elements like the nazis or Klan; rather, it is the system which produces fascism which must be destroyed. The capitalist system's creation was based on the enslavement and forced labor of African, Asian, and other oppressed peoples; the genocide of the Native Americans, and the brutal theft of the lands of the Hispanic peoples are other examples of this oppression. But Europeans of all classes benefited from this super-exploitation, and capital has created the hierarchical structure of race and class oppression we live under. It is extremely important to understand that this kind of racial stratification is not some deliberate ideological nonsense that people of color have created themselves, so-called "identity

movements" as some vulgar socialists call them, but has been a function of the state from inception, with one's place in society and class privileges riding on the outcome. If you are non-white, you will be treated one way; if you are white, another. So "racism" is a class doctrine, used by the state for super-exploitation of certain workers and peoples. In fact, I contend that racism is the actual class relationship in North American society.

So-called "white" people are a contrived nationality designed to help the capitalists keep workers of color in their place and safeguard the status quo. Rather than seeing the white industrial working class as a potentially revolutionary class, instead we view it as an opportunistic, collaborationist body which must be redefined and reorganized if it is to constitute a reliable ally and have any ability of fighting in its own interest as a new class.

As Black autonomists, we of course disagree with Marxists and other "radicals" who claim that an authoritarian party and strong leadership cultism is necessary to produce a social revolution. But we go further and say that neither they nor the anarchists can lead us as a people of color (or even themselves) to freedom, because though they have been conditioned as Europeans to command and rule over people of color. We can work with them on projects or in action on a campaign, but they will not determine the agenda or outcome of our struggles.

However, we differ with the Black nationalists, although we share many basic ideas with them. We also believe in and treasure many of the traditions and history of our people, but believe it must be demystified and made into a culture of resistance, rather than personality cults or escapism from the realities of racism. Further, we do not believe in a "race nationalism," we are not xenophobic, do not entertain any racial mythology about Europeans, and are not seeking to build a Black nation-state as the answer to our problems. In many respects, we know that Black nation-statism will defeat our ability to obtain full freedom and has a limited program for social revolution. We are not immune from the laws of social nature. We believe the class politics which will show itself within any Black state, whether an Islamic, secular "New Afrikan," or otherwise will result in an extreme class differential and economic injustice. We believe that a bourgeois class and political dictatorship is inevitable, and that revolution will ensue even under such a Black state, which calls itself "African socialist." We also believe that historically, Black nationalism has asserted itself most forcefully as a counter-power movement, that is, to organize an interest group which can battle for political power inside the system. This is what happened to

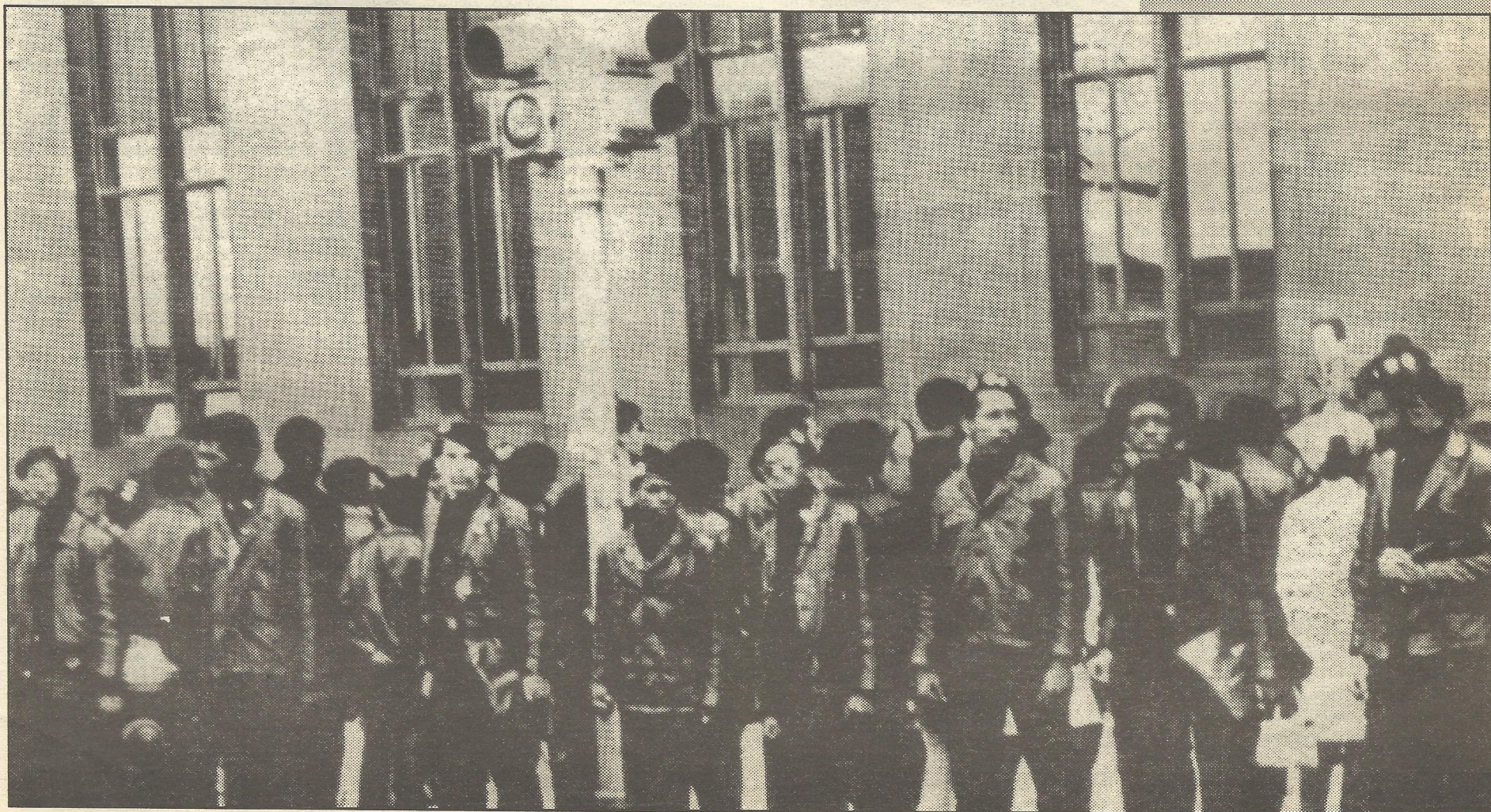
the seemingly revolutionary "Black Power" current produced by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) during the 1960s; it was usurped by the Black petty-bourgeoisie. In addition, those who argue for a state never tell how it will be obtained; many of those arguments are vague and fanciful. Who really believes that America will grant an Islamic state or give up five southern states to Africans just because a small faction calling itself a "government-in-exile," or even a majority of us, wants it? It would require years of a bloody struggle and a major organizing campaign. In addition, the only group which even talked about conducting a plebiscite to find out what form African people believe our independence should take was the Panthers. Even though I personally have good relations with many of these organizations, I have a hard time taking these people seriously on this issue and have always considered this wishful thinking or a flight of fancy. But then, it's not up to me, but to the Black masses themselves.

So far, we have made little more than the arguments that many socialists and anarchists have made for years against certain kinds of nationalism. However, it would be extremely unfair not to point out that groups like the Black Panther Party (BPP), League of Revolutionary Black Workers (and even the SNCC in the late 1960s), though calling themselves "revolutionary Black nationalists," in fact did not

(Continued to page 17)

## Provisional Program of the Federation of Black Community Partisans

- 1.) We want an end to police brutality in our community and the complete withdrawal of all existing police forces. We want the creation of a volunteer Black community self-defense force.
- 2.) We want an end to racism and all forms of white supremacy.
- 3.) We demand full employment of the Black community.
- 4.) We want and call for *worldwide social revolution* and the dismantling of the system of capitalist imperialism.
- 5.) We want and call for the dismantling of all nation-states, governments, and their replacement with revolutionary communes.
- 6.) We want an end to homelessness. We want decent housing, fit for human beings.
- 7.) We want the immediate release of all political prisoners, prisoners of war, and victims of racial injustice.
- 8.) We want an end to Amerikkka's imperialist wars and the use of Black people and other non-white peoples as cannon fodder.
- 9.) We want the freedom and unity of our people all over the world.
- 10.) We want autonomy: freedom to determine for ourselves how to solve our problems, rebuild our communities, and move forward.





# Rethinking Malcolm X in the 1990s

## A Review of *Malcolm X: In Our Own Image*

[Joe Wood, editor, *Malcolm X: In Our Own Image*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992]

BY REBECCA HILL

Check the remainder table at your local bookstore for *Malcolm X: In Our Own Image*, a collection of 14 essays that includes new works by Amiri Baraka, Robin D.G. Kelley, Angela Davis, Patricia Williams, Cornel West, John Edgar Wideman, Adolph Reed, Jr., Hilton Als, Joe Wood, Patricia Hill Collins, Arnold Rampersad, Ron Simmons, the late Marlon Riggs, Greg Tate, and Deidre Bailey. I list all the authors because this book reads like an index of some of the best African-American cultural critics around today. There are a few notable absences—such as bell hooks, Michael Eric Dyson, Harold Cruse and Mumia Abu-Jamal—but the book still provides a diverse and provocative sampling of new currents in American political and cultural critique. It's amazing to me that this 1992 book was remaindered before it came out in paperback, but maybe that's because most folks couldn't afford the steep \$18.95 price for the hardcover edition. It's hard to believe that this book wasn't initially issued in paperback by St. Martin's Press to make it affordable for general readers! Nonetheless, now that it's in the bargain bin, the rest of us can afford it, so look for it. The book came out in what one reviewer referred to as the "Year of the X," following the release of Spike Lee's film biography and the explosion of "X" hats and t-shirts. During the same period, 32 new books about Malcolm X were published. This one, which initially received lukewarm reviews, has staying power both because it is a historical document of American life in the 1990s, and because its writers are grappling with some of the most crucial questions of politics today: the intersection of race, class, and gender and the role of the "hero" in political organizing.

The writers most explicitly concerned with politics in the book are Amiri Baraka and Adolph Reed, both of whom are intensely critical of current Black political leadership, which they describe respectively as a "comprador class" and an "insider elite." However, the two authors have radically different takes on Malcolm's relationship to this bourgeoisie. Baraka refers to Malcolm X as "a leading force of the struggle for Afro-American self-determination" and "the most profound figure of the '50s-'60s black political upsurge," whose legacy and history should be preserved as an inspiration for political activists today. According to Baraka, the maintenance of the history of Malcolm X as a revolutionary thinker requires a revolutionary struggle in the sphere of culture. The commodification of Malcolm X is for Baraka a sign that the co-optation of historical memory will ultimately lead to counter-revolutionary politics.

Although some readers might disagree with Baraka's politics (he quotes Mao and Lenin as principle authorities), his essay does emphasize the importance of culture and history for political life today. While any iconic figure such as Malcolm X can become an empty vessel for many ideological programs, it is also true that revolutionaries of the past, especially if they were as prolific as Malcolm X was, can inspire individuals living in less-than-revolutionary times.

In fact, the closing essay of the book, "The Autobiography of Deidre Bailey as told to Marjessa Dean Outlaw and Matthew Countryman," makes this very point. Bailey says, "I look at Malcolm's life, and I look at the things I have gone through, and I say, if he could do it, I could do it." This is not, I would argue, a mere argument for role-models. Instead, the use of Malcolm X's story and ideology is a history that shapes our view of the present by revealing both state repression and people's enduring will to resist it. This is radical history, or revolutionary history; it shows readers that rights were not "handed to us on a silver platter," as Elizabeth Gurley Flynn once said, but were wrested from the ruling class through struggle and death.

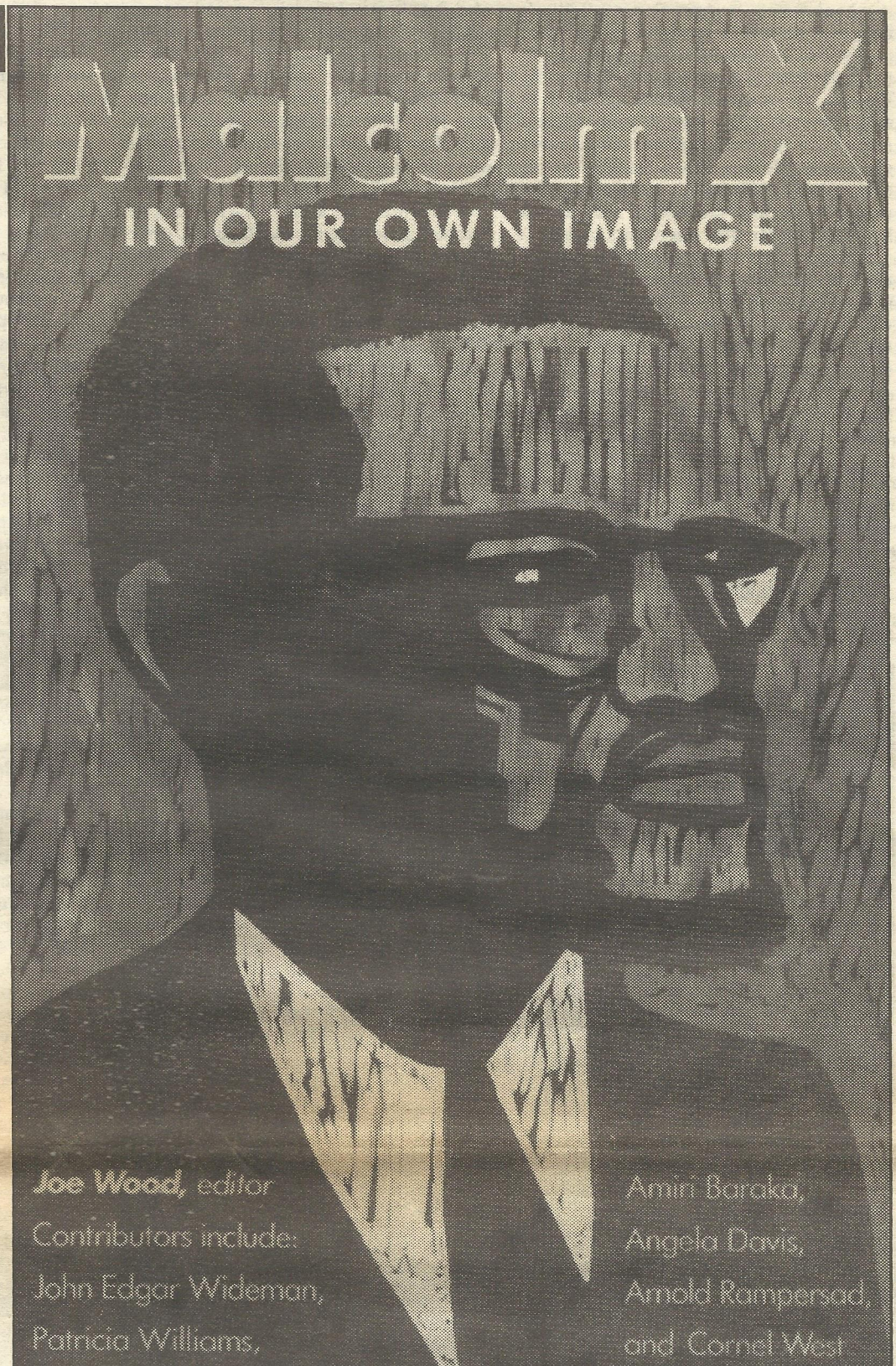
Baraka reminds those who think that battling over this dead man's memory is "irrelevant" or a sign of political "vacuity" that Malcolm X's position in favor of total Black self-determination serves to expose

the shallowness of electoral politics as a means of transformation for anyone. Although his voice reaches us from the past, Malcolm X's writings on the Bandung conference, on third world liberation, and on African unity can shift the terms of strategy from intra-national political horse-racing to international revolutionary alliances.

Adolph Reed also uses his discussion of Malcolm X to criticize Jesse Jackson and other "bantustan administrators" who have, he argues, "found their way into public budgets and the inner circles of policy implementation and thereby legitimized accommodationist, insider politics as the proper legacy of protest activism." In contrast to Baraka, Reed does not see the recovery of Malcolm X as a sign for hope. Instead, he views the current reverence for Malcolm X as disconnected from real political concerns because Malcolm died before the passage of the voting rights act, before the Watts riot, before Black power. In other words, while Malcolm X may be personally significant to many, Reed considers him a relic of another political era and suggests that the reliance on his memory and King's inhibits people from thinking in new ways for current conditions. This reliance on dead leaders indicates to Reed that Black politics in the present are evading politics all together, letting style and evocation stand in for concrete political programs. He argues that the flowering of rap and youth culture is a symptom of the vacuum created by bourgeois Black politics, whose reliance on icons of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X has "deformed critical Black political action for a generation."

Another standout, Robin Kelley's essay "The Riddle of the Zoot," calls into question Reed's sober pronouncements against working-class Black youth culture past and present. While acknowledging that culture alone is not political, Kelley seeks to recognize the agency of Black working-class people and to recognize the everyday resistance implied by wearing zoot suits, dodging the draft during WWI, and dancing the lindy hop. Placing Malcolm X in the context of his own historical time, Kelley also succeeds in producing the result that Reed feels is impossible—he makes Malcolm X human and recognizes the political relevance of other human beings who lived alongside him. Taking emphasis away from the "cult of Black leadership" that Reed decries (but is simultaneously so invested in), Kelley indicates that the source of revolt is not in policy-making, but in the empowerment of working-class Black youth.

But, these stories debating the nihilism or revolutionary quality of Black youth culture are to be expected to some degree. More surprising are a number of articles that deal with sexuality, gender, and the question of authority. Hilton Als' beautiful essay "Philosopher or Dog?" for instance, attempts to locate Malcolm's mother, Louise Little, in history, and rebukes the *Autobiography's* disrespectful portrayal of her. Patricia Hill Collins takes on gender, race, and class one by one as a constructive criticism of the current adoration of Malcolm X in her essay "Learning to Think for Ourselves." She describes Malcolm's passage from essentialist to social constructionist views of race, and compares these to his understanding of gender and class. She questions why Malcolm X either ignored, missed, or rejected the tradition of social-class criticism evolved by Richard Wright, Pauli Marshall, and W.E.B. DuBois. Taking on his division of house/field



Negroes, Collins suggests that Malcolm's distrust for Black intellectuals as "house Negroes" ironically impoverished his analysis of class dynamics, not only within the Black community but within the world at large. Finally, Collins argues that Malcolm X's essentialist nationalism, which privileged race above all other categories, also limited his understanding of women and patriarchy. She catalogues the negative references to women in his autobiography, including a passage supporting male "discipline" of women through violence. Hill Collins does not reject Malcolm X though, but advocates a critical appreciation of his work. She argues that Malcolm's rejection of global violence against Black people could be utilized by Black feminists for a more thoroughgoing critique of violence "in the service of domination."

Although there are many more essays in the book than I have space to tell you about, I want to close by mentioning the excellent dialogue between the late Marlon Riggs and Ron Simmons, "Sexuality, Television and Death: A Black Gay Dialogue." Discussing the idea of the "hero," these two men also hit on the crucial questions of martyrdom as they discuss the borders of Black masculinity, death in the lives of young Black men, and the prohibition of "tarnishing" the image of Malcolm X with stories about his sex life. According to Marlon Riggs, "It's hard to break through what Malcolm's death means for us because what we may end up with is an extremely nihilistic view of Black life in contemporary society." But, he points out, the paradox of the martyr is that at the same time, "whatever the battleground, to die in the act of fighting remains heroic...he makes death meaningful."

It is this "meaningful death" that makes the battle over Malcolm X's true

story, and the stories of other martyrs—Albert Parsons, or Sacco and Vanzetti, for instance—so contentious, and so worth telling over and over again. That is, the stories of radical martyrs are the means by which political activists try to maintain hope in the face of constant defeats. Yet as the writers in this collection attest, a martyr can easily become "a-historical" because it becomes mythic and saintly, beyond criticism. At the same time, the martyr is ultimately historical, because it is the body that carries the past into the present, bringing the fact of death to face the bland story that tells us that history has been a journey of simple progress facilitated by the state. Moreover, when writers such as Hill Collins and Reed dare to critique martyrs, they make them more real, more meaningful, and ultimately more historically instructive for us.

Not only do martyrs create history however, but remembering them allows us to enter history ourselves, making historical figures into "members of the family." By remembering Malcolm in all his personal details and failures, the authors in this collection and others bring themselves into the grand sweep of history—inviting history to take part in their lives. This explains the need to tell the story of the martyr again and again, for each new generation will need to redefine the image of resistance for themselves. For this reason, it's important to read even the most sentimental of accounts of heroic martyrs; they tell us the temperament of our times. This book is not sentimental at all, however, and I highly recommend it. *Malcolm X: In Our Own Image* succeeds in taking on Malcolm X's memory both respectfully and critically, bringing the personal and the political together in ways that are both empowering and "true."★



# ¡Basta!

(Continued from page 2)

the book under review. George Collier's book *Basta!* provides exactly the kind of professional outsider analysis we all need to make the case for mobilization against the Mexican government's policies. Collier is an anthropologist with some 30 years of field research among the indigenous communities of Chiapas. He has drawn on that experience, as well as his knowledge of the similar work of others, to provide, in a dense but highly readable 150 pages, an excellent overview of the social, economic, and political history of Chiapas that gave birth to the current rebellion. Useful historical sketches of 500 years of resistance (chapter 1) and of the more recent colonization and social mobilization in the East of Chiapas (chapter 2) are followed by even more useful analyses of the complexities of the social fabric in the areas of Zapatista influence.

From the writings of the Zapatistas, especially Marcos, those of us less familiar with Chiapas have received some insight into the diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds of the indigenous who make up the bulk of the EZLN communities. We have learned something of Tzeltals, Choles, Tzotziles, and other indigenous peoples. We have read of the difficulties of life for these people at the

bottom of the Mexican social pyramid, exploited and discriminated against on the job and off. We have even gained a little understanding of some internal differences and antagonisms in their communities, such as those between men and women, women who felt the need to draw up and demand EZLN ratification of a revolutionary law of women's rights. But while Marcos has conveyed much, his preoccupation with painting a picture of the world the Zapatistas have been seeking to craft has limited his discussion of origins, of the complex communities which have generated support for and participation in the Zapatista movement.

It is here that Collier is invaluable. Speaking from outside the Zapatista movement, but from long experience, he is able to locate their origins within a larger framework of social antagonism and contradictory mobilizations. (chapter 3) Collier's emphasis, as the title of the book suggests, is on the fundamental connection between the people of Chiapas and the land. The social movements in Chiapas have primarily been mobilizations of campesinos, many of whom, but not all, have been indigenous. Collier traces the history of conflicts over land from the conquest to the present. He sketches the theft of indigenous lands, the very limited gains of the Mexican revolution which mostly left the land in the hands of the thieves, and the ways the PRI long used the promise of land (and to some small degree actual land transfers) to gain

support from the landless and the land-poor while building up its own local power structure. He also provides useful detail of the evolution of peasant organization, both that arranged by the PRI from the top down, and that achieved by self-activity from the bottom up.

At the same time, he discusses the intersection of such organization around land with other movements, such as that for organizing landless peasant labor unions, or the struggle for rural credit, or that of local school teachers or that of various religious sects and finally that of leftist organizers who "went to the people" after the slaughter of students in Mexico City in 1968. As you might suspect, these intersections produce a complex history of class factions, conflicts between organizations with different approaches and goals, ideological clashes, overlapping preoccupations and allegiances, and repeated clashes between all of these and the party-state. With respect to the key area of Eastern Chiapas which would provide the base of the Zapatista movement, Collier writes:

"By the mid-1980s, the three movements—land-based, labor-based, and credit-based—had spread through the historically undeveloped half of Chiapas from the region around Simojovel to the Selva Lacandona. The movements crossed over one another's original bases of power, sometimes in competition and sometimes in alliance, and established networks of communication across a vast landscape." (p. 75)

He goes on to trace the evolving interaction of various peasant organizations with each other and with the government and even to evaluate the EZLN's denunciation of particular groups for having sold out to the state.

"In what seemed like a blatant attempt to buy votes for the August 1994 presidential election, the government in May granted almost 6 million new pesos (approximately 1.8 million US dollars) in credits to ARIC and other Union of Unions subsidiaries, lending credence to Marcos' accusation that the ARIC has compromised its principles for money." (p. 77)

Step by step, Collier traces the successes and failures of pre-Zapatista peasant struggles and argues that the EZLN can be seen as an organizational response to the bankruptcy of previous efforts that have been either crushed or coopted by the PRI—at the expense of the average campesino. In so doing he provides, both in his text and in its references, detailed information that both explains and justifies the resort to radical means to bring about any kind of real change in Chiapas. It is one thing to merely assert the bankruptcy of the PRI and the corruption of the Mexican State, as many in solidarity with the movement for democracy have done. It is quite another to be able to use the kind of information Collier provides to illustrate the repeatedly demonstrated futility of trying to "reform" the Mexican state and political system.

While Collier rightly focuses on the centrality of the land struggle in Chiapas, he also has pursued, in his research and in his book, the consequences of the failure of most campesinos to acquire access to adequate amounts of land. He analyses not only the consequent colonization movements into decreasingly fertile forest lands but also the recourse made by growing numbers of peasants to urban sources of income, from wages to informal sector activities, including small business enterprises in production and/or marketing. The viability of these alternative paths to survival and life, he traces through both the oil and hydroelectric boom of the 1970s and the subsequent debt crisis of the 1980s which drove many back to the land out of

desperation while allowing some to use their earnings or newly acquired skills from the earlier period to finance new activities in the later one. (chapter 4)

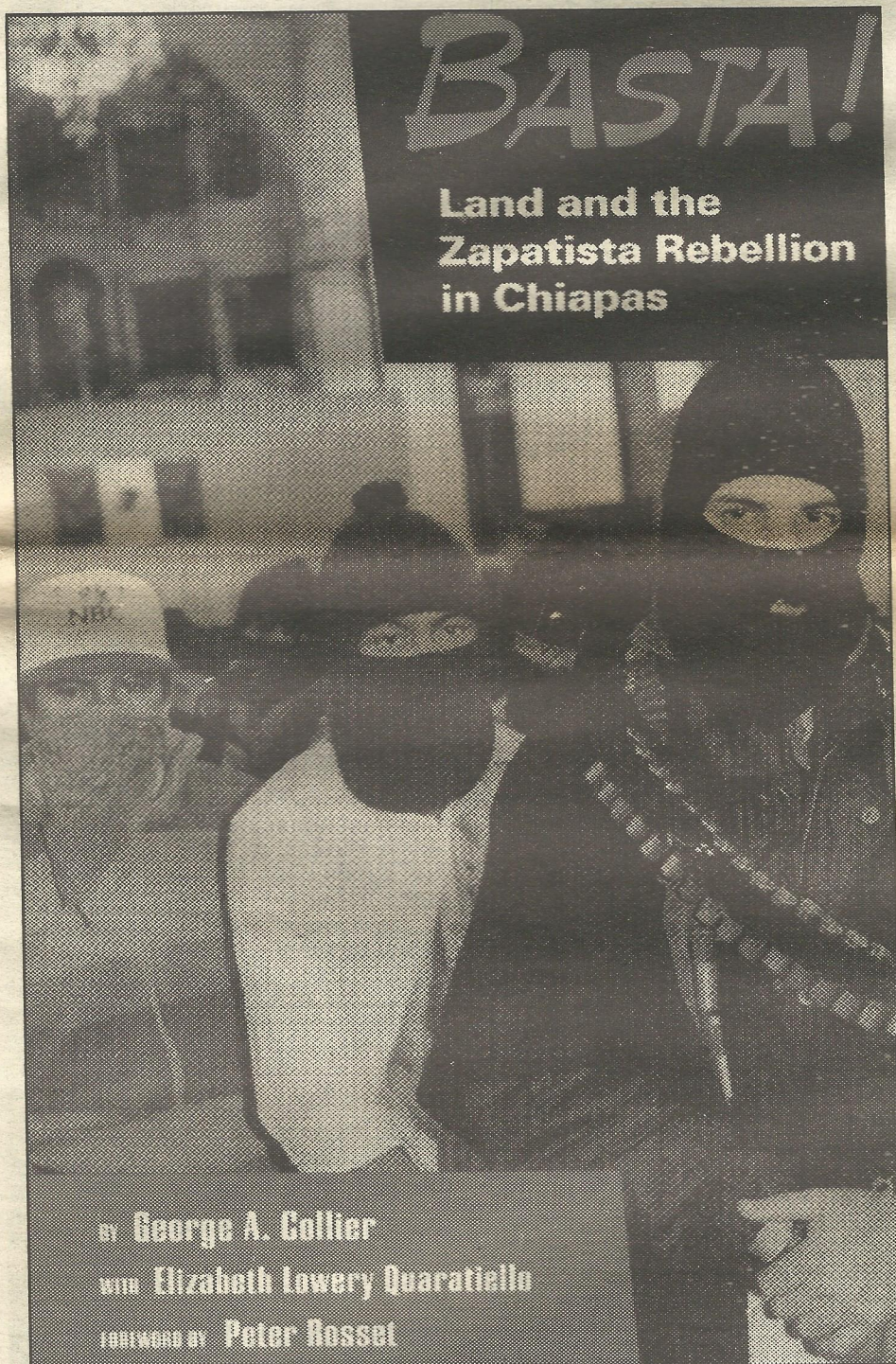
Collier emphasizes how the subordination of Chiapaneco lives to this market "business cycle" contributed to the differentiation of communities between better and worse off and to the deterioration of the fabric of mutual aid and obligation that had traditionally held sway. In agriculture as in the urban economy, differentiation in income and access to investment finance led to a growing divide between better off farmers who could invest in more productive commercial inputs and those who could not, and hence to the growing concentration of land. He goes on to trace the consequences of such changes for interpersonal relationships, family life, and political behavior. (chapter 5)

All of this leads to one of Collier's prime conclusions: namely that growing differentiation within and between Chiapaneco communities prepared the ground for the Zapatista rebellion. With the increasing abandonment by the state of any support for peasant agrarian development, from the withdrawal of price supports for coffee and corn to the rewriting of the Constitution to allow the privatization of presently common lands, the Mexican state has not only plunged a great many into deeper poverty but destroyed all hope of any change within the system. Basically, Collier provides evidence that the PRI has decided to complete the final enclosure of Chiapas, hand it over to agribusiness and natural resource exploitation (timber, oil, hydroelectric power, plantation/ranch agribusiness) and deal with its population elsewhere as it disperses North to the cities or across the border to the US. It is against this now quite foreseeable fate that the Zapatistas are fighting a last ditch battle.

Toward the end of his book, Collier writes: "I think there is merit to the claim that the ruling party has fostered factionalism in the peasantry in order to divide and rule in the Mexican countryside. But I also believe it is important not to overlook how such tactics resonate with and sharpen the class divisions fostered within peasant society by energy development and agrarian change... In this light the Zapatista rebellion becomes understandable as a response to the growing differentials between rich and poor, and between favored and excluded groups within the rural society of Chiapas... But above all, we know that the conflict in Chiapas arises directly from a quarter of a century of Mexican development and modernization and that solutions must take this into account." (p. 146) Collier ends his book (chapter 7) with a brief sketch of possible future developments, not least of which was "the very real possibility of further armed confrontation." That possibility has been realized by the state violating the cease-fire and rupturing negotiations. The struggle to bring their military offensive to a real stop continues, far beyond the mountains of the Mexican Southeast. Fortunately, for those of us involved in that struggle, Collier's book provides extremely useful information and analysis to make the case against the continuing barbarism of the state's approach to dealing with Chiapas. Beyond the barbarism of its military operations, Collier's book helps us demonstrate how the state's social and economic policies hold out nothing but disaster for most of the people of Chiapas, whether they support the Zapatistas or not. It provides us with vital ammunition in the war of words with the Mexican state and its American backers (in the White House, paid think-tanks, and Congress) and it provides us with abundant material to convince and draw others to our side in this effort.★

For example, money for separate programs like post-secondary education, medical care, and welfare now will be given in one shot, called the Canadian Social Transfer Program, so that provinces can have their own programs and use the money as they wish. But these programs will see \$8.5 billion in cuts within three years, starting next year. Since the federal government will not raise taxes, provinces will be forced to do it, so popular anger will be turned against the provinces instead of the federal government. The Québec government of the Parti Québécois, who have promised not to cut the social program, will have total cuts in post-secondary education of \$76 million. These actions are setting the stage for a new wave of confrontations.★

Nick is a member of the Montréal anarchist group *Démanarchie* and participates in the Montréal-Centre group described in the article.



## Québec

(Continued from page 3)

### BUILDING A RADICAL STUDENT MOVEMENT

At the beginning of the struggle against the federal government the radical students were weak and isolated, but willing to fight. The national organizations were doing almost nothing so the radicals started to organize autonomously. Two ideas came out around the same time: a national newspaper and a coalition of individuals to organize the fight-back. The newspaper was to counter the dominant discourse and to inform the students, the coalition was to offer them occasions to fight back. This coalition of radical students quickly evolved into an ad-hoc

coalition of progressive student unions and individuals. The newspaper, *The Spark*, began as a student newspaper against the social reform and evolved into the paper of the coalition. At the best time of the struggle *The Spark* reached a circulation of 50,000 copies. The newspaper took a firm stance in favor of free education. As the radicals got better organized, more people joined them and because of their true willingness to fight they gained credibility. The discourse is mainly social-democratic and a bit leftist, but this alone was a big change.

In February this ad-hoc coalition evolved again and turned into a national leftist student union, the MDE (in English, Movement for the Right to Education). It is made up of about 15 student unions. Individuals can join, as can other non-student organizations (but not political parties or groups). However, only student unions have the right to

vote, on the basis of one organization/one vote. The MDE's national newspaper is still *The Spark*, with a circulation of 15,000 copies. They wish to organize around the right to education because everyone is for it and because it is the first step toward free education. The MDE is organized in a decentralized manner: the general congress is the supreme body, with a national coordination, an executive committee, and three sub-committees, including one in charge of mobilization (organizing actions and campaigns). They organized their first action in April, it was the burial of access to education. More than 100 people showed up with lots of black flags. In less than a year the students have created a new movement.

While the federal government has supposedly postponed its plan of social reform, in the federal budget of February, 1995, some of the proposed cuts passed.



# Black Autonomous Politics

(Continued from page 14)

call for or actually struggle to obtain a nation-state in Africa or on the existing land-territory of the United States. It appears that they had adopted some variant of socialist doctrine, and had as their primary motivation the toppling of the existing capitalist state/empire. Their position differed radically from the cultural (Afrocentric), religious, and other variant nationalist tendencies. The BPP especially was an advanced political formation which did much pioneering theoretical and organizing work on race and class issues, and although we have many disagreements with their vanguardist and authoritarian political structures, we have much in common philosophically.

We too believe in armed self-defense, but we believe it is the people at-large, not a political party, which must be organized into self-defense units. We too believe in armed struggle, but believe the masses extending an insurrection to a social revolution will be the likely unfolding scenario, not a vanguard party seizing power in the name of the people or a small, secret army. But, in common with the Black Panthers, the Black autonomists believe that even before capitalism is defeated, we can begin to turn our communities into counter-power communes, from which we can wage a protracted struggle with capitalism and its agents. We believe, in common with the Panthers and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, that the Black working class

will be the decisive factor in any such struggle—not the middle class. And in common with SNCC, we think the role of the organizer is not to lead people, but to empower them and let them take over their own local struggles. We also believe that our communities are colonies or semi-colonies which are totally under the control of the state. But we do not believe in politics or electoralism in any form, and reject coalitions with liberals or social democrats.

Finally, like the Black Panthers, and contrary to today's Nation of Islam and its spokesmen, we believe that there were socio-economic factors which accounted for both slavery and racism, not because whites are "ice people" or "devils," or other such reactionary nonsense. This system produces racism/white supremacy, and it is this capitalist system which must be destroyed to get rid of it!

This is who we are, fighters for human rights, self-determination, and freedom for our people and our class. The Panthers proved how dangerous Black revolutionaries can be to this system, now we will finish the job!

—From **Black Autonomy #2**

Greg Jackson is a member of the Federation of Black Community Partisans in Seattle and the editor of Black Autonomy, A Journal of Anarchism and Black Revolution. The Federation of Black Community Partisans can be contacted at:

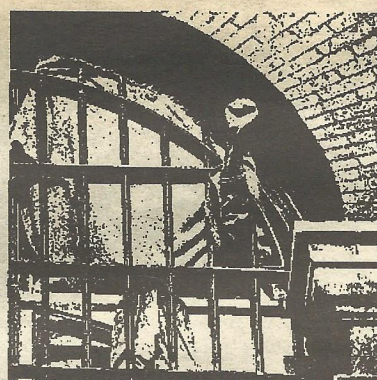
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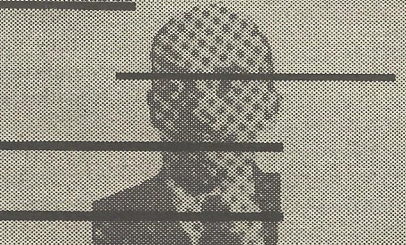
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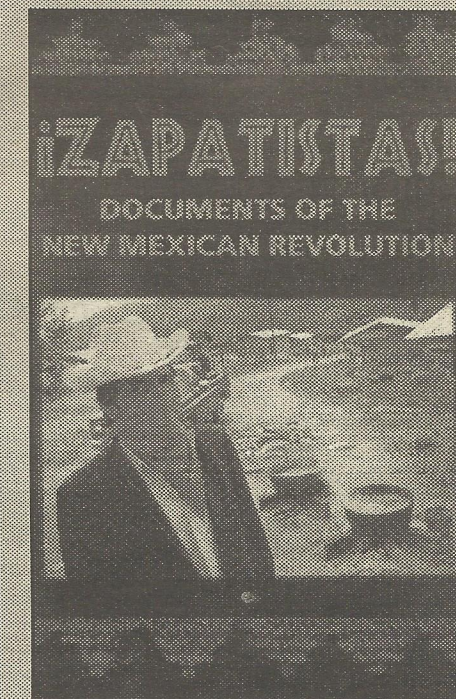
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Lucy Parsons (1853-1942), African-American anarchist

## Interview with Cecilia Rodríguez

(Continued from page 11)

vate people in the States? Do you think that doing solidarity with México will motivate them? What's going to build an opposition?" He asked me that question 80 different ways 80 different times and I could never give him a straight answer. I would say: "no, you can't do both, you gotta do one or the other." That whole question guided me throughout that 10 years of working with the workers center, and when that reached a certain stage, it also guided me to getting a national understanding of the country, getting in dialogue again with the activist community, the progressive community, the solidarity community. Just getting out of the border. I'd never been out of the border or away from México and I wanted to get a broader sense of the country. That took me to New York to work in this foundation, which was kind of strange,

possible, what about this, what about that?" So I wound up at the same point where I started, but I think with an understanding of the problems of organizing in the States. And sometimes that's to my disadvantage. In this work I tend to be a little more cautious, a little more insistent that we not repeat what's been done before, but I don't have a blueprint and people get frustrated with that. But I just think that's where we need to go and we'll see.

What differences do you see between the work of the NCDM and that of other solidarity movements, the Central American solidarity movement of the 1980s in particular?

Solidarity movements sometimes focus outward because if you're a person who has a sensitivity for the Third World you go through a tremendous rejection process of the United States and its culture and everything about it. You attach yourself to that struggle and try to realize yourself in a different way. That tends to pull you out, you focus your energies outward and the work that you actually do in terms putting pressure on US policy tends to be fairly limited. I think that there's also a tendency to over-romanticize a struggle in the Third World when you don't have a base here in the States, or you don't really care. You look at it through the paradigm of "I have to affect US policy in order to help, that is primary." Instead of saying "These are two things that need to pour at each other and balance each other at the same time." There's a little bit of progressive imperialism in saying: "Yeah, I can help solve the problems in another country but I don't want to deal with this one." If you can't deal with your own problems, what gives you the right to deal with those somewhere else? I think the solidarity movements of the past have done a tremendous amount of work within a limited paradigm. I don't degrade in any way the work that's been done. I think that this particular work because of its relationship and how close it is to the States is going to be much harder. I think it requires a different approach.

The NCDM can be contacted at:  
601 N. Cotton, Ste. A-103  
El Paso, TX 79902  
(915) 532-8382  
moonlight@igc.apc.org

**"There's a little bit of progressive imperialism in saying: 'I can help solve the problems in another country but I don't want to deal with this one.'"**

but my whole purpose was to be in contact with different circles and get a sense of where people's politics were.

This happened in 1990-91, when all the socialist world had fallen apart and there was tremendous demoralization. And I came sort of from the opposite, I had a tremendous amount of enthusiasm and I didn't understand what it was that was happening with this crisis in terms of people's doubts about whether it was possible to do anything. And that relationship of México and my understanding of what might transpire and what might be the impact and my own history as an organizer searching for a way in which to really hit the system here. Most of the three years I spent in New York I spent interviewing people and asking them questions: "what do you think is



# Editorial: The Role of Structure and Organization in a Revolutionary Movement

The question "What is the role of structure and organization in a revolutionary movement?" has two aspects: "What is the role of structure?" and "What is the correct/appropriate structure?" I think that these two questions are really two sides of a more central question: "What are we trying to accomplish in the long run, and how is that affected by our structure?"

On the most basic level, we are trying to change the world by building up a new society within the old, hoping that the new society will destroy the old one in the process. The editorial in the last issue of *Love and Rage* discussed why we need a structure/organization to do this. Here, I will try to sketch how we will do this.

## ORGANIZATION IN GENERAL

In general, I think there are three main functions of organization. Organization is needed, first, to unify with people who are oppressed by and in opposition to this society; second, to connect with other people who are already insurgent against this society. Finally, orga-

nization can attempt to prefigure the new society by building new social and personal relations that embody, as much as possible, our vision of the new society. To me, the last is the most important function.

The purposes of unifying with people already in opposition are to show the connections among the various structures that oppress us and to see our opposition as part of a broader struggle. The purposes of connecting with people who are actively insurgent are to build coalitions and to become parts of those struggles. In both areas, we should be seeking to argue for our politics—both our analysis and also our commitment to democracy, pluralism, and anti-authoritarianism. We should also seek to participate in movements that help us to see *ourselves* as interested and capable of taking action to change our lives, so that we move from anger and resentment into opposition and revolt.

But the real core of our politics, I think, and what distinguishes us from other political forces, is in our commitment to building the new society now. This is central for two

reasons. It (hopefully) allows us to see our work as part of the revolution instead of being prior to it; at the same time, the process of trying to build something new is what will really be the undoing of the old.

This is the major lesson that I have drawn from the EZLN. They went to Chiapas wanting two things: to make a revolution and to see their political ideas come true. As they struggled along with the people of Chiapas, who were already insurgent against the larger society, the Zapatistas discovered that their two goals were in conflict: the people in Chiapas wanted revolution, but not on the EZLN's terms. Then something mind-blowing happened: the EZLN effectively decided that it wanted revolution more than it wanted to be right. They began with the idea of descending on Chiapas and transforming it; instead, they were transformed along with it. At some point, the EZLN had to choose between the people and their abstract idea of revolution. They chose the people, only to discover (happily) that the people were the revolution.

Will we be as smart and courageous? I think we will, in part through the process of

building revolutionary structures, including the Love and Rage Federation. But this will happen only if we develop a clear understanding of just what it is we are trying to do.

Our political perspective is anti-authoritarian for two reasons. First, we think that authority tends to create and perpetuate rigidly hierarchical social structures. Just as important, we think that authority serves to destroy the very quality that is necessary to make the new society: people's ability to act. Therefore, we try to structure our organizations to prefigure the new society. We don't do this because we are hopeless utopian romantics. Rather, as we fight to transform ourselves into people capable of acting, we truly begin to oppose this society and struggle for the new one.

Ultimately, I believe the insurgent social movements will be able to transform society. But this will happen only insofar as the members of those movements have created intentionally prefigurative structures and organizations, through which they themselves have been transformed.

by Matt Black

# LETTERS

## AGAINST SECTARIANISM

Dear *Love and Rage*,

The article "Pro-Choice Revolution or Reform?" by Carolyn is informative and certainly passionate, but falls far short of advocating for revolutionary feminism.

Carolyn's claim that "we need to break from the politics of liberal feminism and accept only a feminism that is fundamentally about liberation, not protection," is a naive and ahistorical argument that seems to be made for the purpose of romanticizing the revolutionary process. In fact, "protection," like "special treatment," is a derogatory term used by white, male conservatives to refer to increased minority and women's rights. What is actually protected is the current order. When women gain rights, such as equal protection under the law, we increase our freedom, redistribute power in

our favor, and lessen oppression. The politics we need to reject are those which oppose the multi-faceted movement toward women's liberation. This is not to say there shouldn't or won't be disagreements, mistakes, and failures in and between movements, alignments, and tendencies. It is to say that there is no room for trashing, and there exists no either/or choice between "reform" and "liberation" feminism.

I share Carolyn's frustration, fear, and anger at the current feminist backslide amidst the terroristic right-wing backlash, but liberal feminism is not holding feminists back and NOW is not the barrier between "revolutionaries" and their revolutionary actions. To pretend liberal feminism is our foe is simply to fall in step with the patriarchal tradition of scapegoating and venting frustration onto women. This trashing also reinforces the "anti-establishment" tradition

of denouncing the women's liberation movement as "bourgeois," the label being a thin cover for hostility toward women's rights. The trashing is particularly disturbing since the writer presents no concrete alternatives to liberal pro-choice actions—she makes a lot of abstract, sweeping declarations, but offers absolutely nothing concrete.

The only thoughtful criticism of liberal feminism the article presents is regarding NOW's support for RICO. The writer's opposition to RICO is not "a display of anarchist revolutionary elitism," but her assertion that "the liberal pro-choice movement has failed," her disregard of liberal feminism's accomplishments, her disrespect for the many women who are determined to work for women's rights within the establishment is elitist, as well as cynical, divisive, and counter-revolutionary.

There is much to be said about the pro's and con's of RICO. Much of Carolyn's argument against RICO makes sense to me. I do want to point out, however, that the government has not needed RICO in the past to act against progressive and revolutionary movements. Nor have patriarchal institutions and the male monopoly of institutional power needed RICO to interfere with, block, censor, slander, threaten, impoverish, and imprison women who effectively challenge the status quo.

NOW and liberal feminism have not interfered with feminist direct action any more than the law-abiding anti-choice movement has interfered with anti-choice harassment and terrorism. If Carolyn wants to organize and participate in more aggressive pro-choice tactics, more power to her. Liberal feminist leaders, abortion providers, and clinic workers are already putting their lives on the line for reproductive freedom. If "revolutionary" feminists are willing to take similar risks, I'm sure these liberals would be helped and supported by their efforts.

Sincerely,  
Adriene Sere

Carolyn responds:

Sere's response accurately points to the rhetorical excesses and lack of concrete proposals in my article "Pro-Choice Revolution or Reform." I agree we shouldn't trash the accomplishments the women's movement has made, this was not the goal of my article. Sere is correct that reforms do expand the realm of freedom from which we operate in struggling for women's liberation. However, I believe there are major differences between reformist and revolutionary feminism. I make this assertion based on my personal experiences and informed by feminist history.

Liberal feminism assumes the state has neglected women's rights due to the male monopoly of institutional power, these institutions are viewed as being more or less subject to whatever interest groups are able to pressure them. Thus the individuals in power rather than the institutions themselves are viewed as oppressive. Liberalism assumes that the state should balance the interests of its citizens and that the state can have a commitment to women's liberation.

Reformism has the effect of demobilizing our forces, giving a few privileged leaders a

place in the halls of power, reinforcing the assumption that the cops and courts, not women, have the right to determine women's reproductive and sexual freedoms. Reforms like Roe v. Wade are important means of expanding women's freedom, they are not ends in themselves. State-managed reforms are not going to dismantle patriarchy, we are. At this point we don't need better laws to liberate women, we need an autonomous women's movement that refuses to negotiate our bodies.

Liberal feminists, including NOW, marginalize independent mobilizations of radical women. NOW does not participate democratically in coalition with other feminists. They attempt to dominate them, and resist moves outside what they consider acceptable parameters of protest. Liberals have interfered with feminist direct action by channeling women's rage at the religious right into the Democratic Party and to movements that are undemocratic and consider militancy "male." Liberal feminists, not revolutionaries, are in opposition to a multi-tactical movement for women's liberation.

Here are a few proposals toward building a revolutionary feminist movement. Argue for directly democratic structures to maximize participation within the women's movement. Monitor and research the religious right, neo-nazis, the Klan, and violent anti-choice groups in order to learn what their appeal is and how we can argue against them, and to gather photos and other intelligence on their troops. Form collectives to learn how to perform abortions for those who can't afford them. We need a militant street presence that will not allow anti-choice forces near clinics. The clinics aren't going to remain open without a struggle, it's not about being camera-friendly and pandering to the media. We have to attack them at their bases of support, denying them space from which to launch their attacks. We need to learn how to protect ourselves by obtaining bullet proof vests and being able to defend the clinics ourselves.

There are many groups already engaged in this work, such as The Fight Back Network or Love and Rage:

Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights  
750 La Playa #730  
San Francisco, CA 94121  
(415) 252-0750

Refuse and Resist  
305 Madison Avenue #1166  
New York, NY 10165  
(212) 713-5657

Love and Rage Anti-Fascist Working Group  
PO Box 10491  
Livernois Station  
Detroit, MI 48210  
(313) 730-3517  
email: TWOB12@aol.com

## SELF-FORGETFULNESS AND THE TRANSCENDENTAL SUBJECT

I commend Matt Black for negating many of the transcendental underpinnings of anarchist theory in his article "Author and

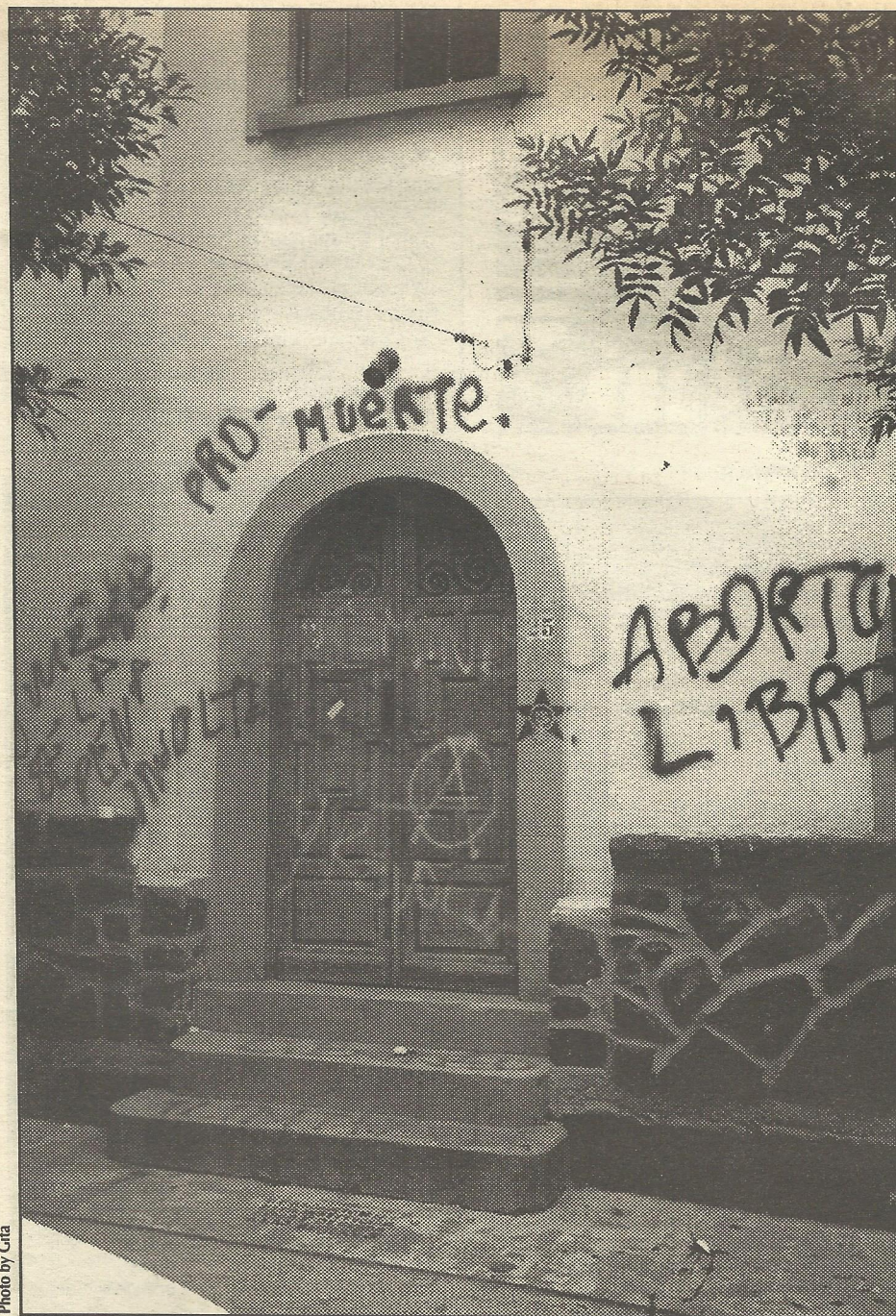


Photo by Gita

Anarchists beautified an anti-choice organization's headquarters in Mexico City on International Women's Day, March 8.





Authority." However, I would like to add two more victims to his slaughterhouse: transcendental desire and the transcendental subject. Matt seeks to "actualize subjectivity" based on individual and collective desire, yet, in so doing, he fails to see that subjectivity and desire are themselves cultural constructs. If we treat subjectivity and desire as neutral givens—one to be actualized and one to be acted upon—this neutrality serves as a mask of our own particularity, legitimizing an uncritical imposition of our own value structure on others. I am not necessarily arguing against such impositions, for to do so would be to abdicate political action, but I think that imposing our values on others, if done, should be done self-consciously. We should act without a mask.

Matt wants to actualize subjectivity, but what form of subjectivity? Every culture, ideology, or system of belief creates a specific form of subjectivity; each renders an individual's life meaningful in a particular way and proscribes individual patterns of behavior. Of these myriad forms of subjectivity, Matt advocates what I would call the anarcho-existentialist subject. Although I have much empathy with this form, in calling for an "actualization of subjectivity" as such, Matt fails to recognize that his conception of subjectivity is a product of Western culture. It is only by denying the historical particularity of the anarcho-existentialist subject that anarchism can claim to be a neutral project of liberation. This active self-forgetting—a taking out of one's eyes—gives one a power that only comes from unthought certainty; yet it also blinds one to the injustices that one inevitably commits oneself. To believe that through destroying all the conceptual apparatuses that give another individual's life meaning we are only helping others to actualize their subjectivity is to act on a power that only comes from being guilt-free, from being self-deluded.

This deluded state serves as a veil, allowing for uncritical action, in one form, as a politics based on desire. Desire then serves as a seemingly natural legitimization of one's politics, but more importantly, as a legitimization which is beyond the realm of debate. Desire is mute; it simply is. Desire will not tell you why it is; it will only move you to take what it wants. Although mute, desire is still a product of culture; it is rendered meaningful—becomes desire as such—through cultural mediation. Thus, in our sexist, homophobic, capitalistic society, many of our desires are less than revolutionary; and so, we cannot uncritically trust in desire. We are ourselves *against* ourselves as much as we are against certain segments of society. As anarchists in a hierarchical society, we are bound to have contradictory desires. Therefore, a desire-based politics is useless in mediating these conflicts and guiding action.

Our politics should not be based on what has uncritically bubbled up inside of us—our desires—but on what we have consciously chosen—our values (or, if you want to dress them up in finer clothes, "principles"). As pragmatist John Dewey has pointed out, values are the result of a process of evaluation; they are the products of our judgment. Although given to us by

our predecessors, values—as products of thought—are subject to debate and reevaluation. We can judge one value from the perspective of another value; we can judge one desire as not being worth pursuit and another as being worth cultivation. Moreover, although we have first been created by our culture, we have the ability to create new values out of those in conflict.

From the standpoint of our values, we can then engage in critical alliances, forge coalitions, and, yes, try to eliminate opposing value systems and their proponents (e.g., nazi skinheads). The active side of guilt is responsibility; we must take responsibility for the particularity of our values in the two-fold sense that we must not only realize that we do not possess the Truth but that we must also take action despite our uncertainty. To fail to act in spite of our doubt is to surrender existence to the blind. Perspectivalism requires both awareness and action.

It may be that, since political struggles often require their participants to kill and/or die for their beliefs, action needs a veil of self-delusion. Perhaps the eye cannot bear to witness the movement of the hand. This enshrouded state, however, leaves us self-alienated, for we do not know who we are, or what we do, and therefore, we cannot assume full responsibility for our actions. I maintain that we can lift the veil, act self-consciously, and withstand the weight of responsibility.

Michael Glavin

Matt Black responds:

Michael has a lot of things to say that I agree with, and a lot that I disagree with, but mostly his response left me with a lot of questions. The most useful and honest response I can think of is to try to explore those questions a little.

Starting with his second main point first, Michael's criticism that desire alone is not an acceptable basis for a vision of a new society—both because it wraps itself in the veil of the "natural" (and thus the loathsome transcendental) and because desire as such cannot be debated critically—makes partial sense to me.

It seems clear to me that we need to base our vision on premises that can be explained, analyzed, debated, criticized, amended, and possibly rejected (that was the point of my article), and Michael's criticism that my discussion of desire seems to exclude that possibility is correct.

However, I think Michael's definition of desire is also too limited. It seems to me that the act of expressing a desire, and being willing to fight for the fruition of that desire (that is, taking the desire out of the exclusively personal and making it also public/political), transforms it from something "undebatable" into something that is closer to a principle or value (a word that gives me hives, but seems strangely appropriate).

Michael's criticism of desire implies that desire as such cannot and will not be discussed and thus become the basis of our politics. Not only do I think that this doesn't hold together—the act of discussing desire and advocating action based upon it transforms the desire into something that can and will be debated and criticized—I

also don't want to be part of a revolution that isn't committed to people dealing with their ideas AND their desires openly and critically, which Michael's criticism implies is impossibly vague and subjective.

At the same time, I think that Michael is somewhat mistaken in his criticism: I didn't ignore the necessity for principles, I went behind them. On what will we claim to base our principles if not our individual and collective desire? I think we can describe ethics (principles, values, whatever) as individual and collective desires molded into a social contract of principles ratified for mutual benefit.

Michael's criticism seems to set up an oppositional relationship between desire and principle as bases for revolutionary theory; instead, I think that the relationship is dialectical. We express our desires because we want to see them brought to fruition; at the same time, we measure our desires against our principles because our principles (theoretically) represent a culmination and refinement of our desires.

The revolutionary moment in this is neither the simple embrace of our desires, nor the advocacy of our principles, but our critical engagement in the tension between the two. Sometimes we desire things that are consistent with our principles and sometimes we desire things that are contradictory or completely outside our principles. The point isn't to place one above the other, but to recognize that they exist in a dialectical relationship: the tension between desire and principle hopefully generates a resolution that encompasses both what we want now (desire) and what we have wanted in the past and expect to want again (principle).

What seems revolutionary and anti-authoritarian to me is not who can have the best desires or the best principles, but who can develop a practice that allows people to engage critically with every aspect of their lives. I don't want a society based on either desire or principle; I want a society based on critical engagement.

Subjectivity: guilty. Michael is right: I want to see a particular kind of subjectivity actualized. There are indeed all sorts of subjectivity, but I guess I have to cop to the fact that I don't think all of them are capable of uniting people to build an anti-authoritarian society. There's a lot to be said about this, but I'm going to leave it at this; my thoughts aren't really formed enough.

Finally, there is the overall criticism within which Michael makes his specific points: that my desire to hold on to subjectivity and desire as neutral categories points directly to an attempt to delude myself about the consequences of my ideas. And that the tendency of anarchists to hold on to authoritarian ideology is fundamentally about a desire to avoid dealing with the fact that we want to impose our ideas and values on other people.

This is a tough one. If we reject the idea that everyone already agrees with our ideas (a tough position to argue for), or that everyone eventually will agree with us because our ideas somehow represent a fundamental Truth about human beings, we do really need to examine just why it is we think we have a "right" to fight (and possibly kill) for our principles.

If, as my article argues, we abandon the

idea that there is a transcendental arbiter of right and wrong, good and bad, and we reject the escape hatch of historical materialism (it isn't God who says people should be free, it's the unalterable course of history that says people Will be free), we need to base our willingness to fight on something.

Michael thinks that we should just 'fess up that we want to impose our ideas. I understand that Michael is using inflammatory words intentionally to try to get us to rip away the "veil" we are hiding behind. But I guess I think in doing so he oversimplifies, missing the heart of the issue and getting trapped in the oppositional language of authoritarian politics.

The people Michael thinks we will seek to impose our ideas upon are people who disagree with us, like his example of nazi skinheads. But clearly we aren't trying to impose our ideas on them: we are trying defend ourselves against them imposing their ideas on us. Sure, we can't claim that our ideas are morally superior and thus our struggle against their ideas is somehow morally justified. We want one kind of society, they want another, and our ideas are mutually incompatible. We're willing to fight against people whose ideas are dramatically different than ours, and who we fear may be able to impose their ideas on us; this includes the state every bit as much as it includes easy targets like nazis.

I want to be clear about this: When I argue that in fighting against the state, nazis, or anyone else, we are defending ourselves, I do not mean to exclude offensive action. We would be foolish to wait for them to kick down our front doors. I guess you could argue that I am splitting hairs, but I think that a vision of struggle against our opponents that is about defending ourselves against oppression, even if we cannot make claim to moral superiority, is a far cry from the kind of will to power that it seems Michael wants us to cop to.

But we don't (I hope) seek to impose our ideas on people who partially agree with us, or who are neutral towards us. Despite the problems with my language, this is exactly the point I was trying to make in discussing the actualization of subjectivity. We won't win an anarchist society by imposing our ideas on other people, or by forcing them to live in our society. This vision, which I think Michael at least implicitly argues for, could not possibly result in an anarchist society exactly because such a society is based on the creation of people who are agents of their own destiny, not victims of someone else's. We don't try to impose our ideas on people, we try to convince people of them.

In the long run, the point of my article was to argue that we need to build a movement/politics that is fundamentally about creating the conditions under which people have the opportunity to take control of every aspect of their lives and the life of society as a whole. We can't know if this opportunity—which of course is a process, not a frozen moment in time—will result in an anarchist society. All we can know, I argue, is that nothing else will even present the possibility of an anarchist society. Since this opportunity could go in many different directions, we also need to create a movement/politics that is specific: we are forming theories and visions because we hope to convince people of them so that they are interested in trying to putting them into practice when the opportunity comes. Again, this opportunity is a process, not some moment called "the revolution"; the revolution must always start now, or it will never start.

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